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Written Empires: Franciscans, texts and the making of early modern Iberian Empires

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Editorial

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Written empires: Franciscans, texts, and the making of Early Modern Iberian Empires

What role did the Franciscans play in the construction of the Iberian Empires during the Early Modern period, in the configuration of the colonial societies which prospered in Asia, Africa and America, and in the development of phenomena like globalization, occidentalization, Americanization and cultural hybridity which arose from the experiences of the Spanish and Portuguese abroad? What place did texts, taken in the broadest sense (McKenzie, 1999), occupy in the strategies pursued by the Franciscans within distinct Iberian imperial contexts, and how did they thus contribute to the formation of political imaginations and colonial realities? How did they think about the Empires to which they belonged from the frontiers of the two monarchies? How did the chronicles and accounts they wrote, the images they created and the devotions they promoted favor the formation of new social realities and new identities arising from colonial experiences and from power over local peoples and places? How did their involvement in missionary activity drive them to chart the course of new religious, linguistic and geographic forms of knowledge?

These are just some of the questions raised in scholarship on Franciscans in the Iberian world, on their presence across the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, and on the intellectual culture which they developed there. They are by no means easy to answer, but they are the foundational questions of this dossier, which is principally focused on the Portuguese world. Bringing together the work of several American and European scholars, it seeks to make clear the relevance of a field which has hitherto been inexplicably neglected, and to locate that within a renewed historical view of the Iberian Empires. The aim is not to analyze the Franciscans *per se*, neither to compare them with other orders, but to highlight the potential interest of examining certain dynamics that characterized the Iberian imperial experiences from the perspective of actors traditionally ignored by historians, despite their political, social and religious relevance in the colonial contexts. We must note at the outset that analysis of the Franciscan world and its counterpart in Iberian regions gives rise to a number of methodological problems. The historian Ângela Barreto Xavier has previously noted some of these in the context of Portuguese India, while also posing more general questions and establishing an excellent point of departure for the present introduction (Xavier, 2006). The difficulties faced by scholars in this field are, to a certain extent, the result of the fragmentary nature of the available sources linked to the Franciscans and the problems this entails. But they are also the result of the very limited attention which historians have traditionally paid to the Franciscan Order, despite its importance in the course of Iberian conquest and colonization. This is particularly notorious in the field of historiography of the Portuguese Empire, but it is no less the case in scholarship on the Spanish world. It is true that the pioneering work of Robert Ricard and John Leddy Phelan (Ricard, 1933; Phelan, 1956) spawned a great deal of activity related to the role of the Franciscans in the initial stages of New Spanish colonization. Ever since, the great authors of the time, like Motolina, Mendieta and Sahagún, have been the object of studies time and time again. They have even been interpreted some sort of burgeoning ethnographers (León-Portilla, 1999; Klor de Alva *et al.*, 1988; Vicente Castro and Rodríguez Molinero, 1986). But such interest seems to have been restricted to this initial period of Spanish-American colonization, as if the later stages —especially in the seventeenth century— had been characterized by the absence or marginalization of the Franciscans. The relegation of the Order to te background in historiography —we might even say to a position of subalternity— not only fails to correspond to reality but also paints an incomplete and often unbalanced picture of religious and missionary history.

Such an imbalance has been exacerbated by historiographical inertia and, to an even greater extent, by the attention paid to scholarship on the Jesuits. Research has generally opted to focus on religious institutions which, like the Society of Jesus, emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They have traditionally been considered a more genuine expression of Tridentine Catholicism in contrast to the "old" monastic and mendicant orders, which are often reduced to mere congregations in decline, stuck in their medieval past. The Franciscan order, in turn, reveals itself to be an intricate world which is not always easy to understand and analyze. It had complex institutional structures, made up as it was of provinces, *custodias*, commissaries, convents, hospices and so on. But it was also a crossroads of different branches and spiritual sensibilities (such as Conventual, Observant, Capuchin and Discalced Franciscans), which often made it seem to have multifaceted identities. Unlike with groups such as the Jesuits, this identity (or these identities) is not easy to squeeze into homogenous and clearly-defined parameters (Buffon, 2013). Finally, the extant documentation itself has been a determining factor in the direction which historiography has taken: Jesuit sources are far more accessible, plentiful, rich and systematic, the

result of a written and bureaucratic culture which was configured in what we could call a more "modern" way.

It is little wonder, then, that this imbalance, which pervades historiography on religious orders in general, becomes even more obvious when we turn to the field of intellectual culture (Palomo, 2013). The breadth of the Jesuits' written output over the course of the modern age is unquestionable. So is the Order's ability to establish mechanisms for the circulation of information at an unprecedented scale and to fix particular discourses and shape a certain missionary memory through the systematic use of texts (and particularly printed ones). They were remarkable skilled in their capacity to continually exploit the most effective methods to disseminate information, conquer souls and even hammer out a concrete image of the Order itself. In fact, this written dimension of the Society of Jesus and its link to the production of knowledge during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are elements which have made the Jesuits the archetype of intellectual "modernity" and, often, the epitome of the practices which shaped written and religious culture in the Post-Tridentine Catholic world (Giard, 1995; Fabre and Romano, 1999; Marzal and Bacigalupo, 2007; Chinchilla and Romano, 2008; Betrán, 2010).

This is not the place to question what was "modern" about the way they handled written customs. But, in order to have a more complete perception of the many realities which made up the world of the missionaries and the world of religious erudition and writing, we must bear in mind certain nuances. We must take into consideration the role of other actors who, like the Franciscans, produced less written output and, in particular, less printed output. They were undoubtedly not as intent on leaving a record and testimony of their theological thought, of their spiritual practices, of their evangelizing efforts across the world. But this does not mean that their presence in the various contexts of the Iberian world and their leading role in the missionary field was not often as important as, or even more important than, the Jesuits'. Neither does it mean that they were merely circumstantial actors in the intellectual world, that their attitudes towards knowledge itself were marginal, or that they simply were not part of the world of learning. It could be, rather, that at times they merely turned to erudite practices and traditions which were different from, or at least not exactly the same as, the Jesuits'. Certainly, they often used methods of communication which did not always lend themselves to printing, but such methods in fact perhaps were not unheard of in the early modern Iberian world. Far from revolving around a written culture, the societies of this period, lest we forget, continued to use indifferently orality, images and manuscript as forms of communication, knowledge and memory (Bouza, 1999).

INTELLECTUAL CULTURE, MANUSCRIPT CIRCULATION, VISUAL COMMUNICATION

The almost clichéd idea constructed by historiographers of a Franciscan world characterized by "anti-intellectualism" and disregard for learned culture, of a world removed from learning and written practices, does not stand up for long in the face of certain evidence which shows a deeply intellectual world. We can see this just by looking at some of the libraries in Franciscan convents in Early Modern Portugal: in the metropolitan world, they brought together several of the most important collections of books linked to Church institutions (Carvalho, 1998; Carvalho, 2005; Rocha, 1994), and there are few differences between them and the libraries of other orders of the period (Campos, 2015).[1] Essentially, the Franciscans had a range of intellectual references and texts which, beyond the spiritual and theological texts linked to their own traditions and identity, was not very different from those of the Augustinians, Jesuits, Dominicans and Carmelites. And it was the same in colonial contexts. While information on the Order's libraries in Asia and Portuguese America is far from complete,[2] there is enough to know that their collections were reasonably well stocked with treatises on dogmatic and moral theology, exegesis, patristics, sermon handbooks, the history of the Church and philosophy, to name only a few categories. A more "virtual" reconstruction, built on the basis of learned methods and the texts referred to in their writings, reveals not only intellectual practices similar to those found in the metropolitan world but also a textual world which, to a great extent, they shared with their co-religionists from the Old World. This was often supplemented by other erudite traditions and local religious, natural and medicinal knowledge, gathered from lived experience and knowledge already accumulated by others in the region (Xavier, 2011). Deep involvement in the field of erudition, furthermore, would become even more explicit from the end of the seventeenth century and over the course of the eighteenth century, when the Franciscans began —in Portuguese contexts, at least— to increase their presence in learned circles and academies, achieving even greater success in print than they had before (Kantor, 2004; Palomo, 2014).

In spite of everything, however, it is undeniable that in both the Spanish and Portuguese worlds the Friars Minor were less visible in print. In part, this was the result of an apparently weaker practice of writing. They never developed, for example, a system of written correspondence like the Jesuits did. And their limited involvement in academic spheres meant they were not particularly prominent in genres like theological treatises, philosophy and canons. Only sermons and devotional texts seem to have had greater relevance and to have been printed in greater quantity. In summary, compared to the output of the Jesuits, Oratorians and Dominicans, the Franciscans wrote less —and possibly cultivated genres which we might today consider to be less important. Indeed, a range of factors could be at play here— material issues, such as the high cost of printing a text for an institution principally identified with poverty (Xavier and Županov, 2014: 143), but also institutional issues within the Order which prescribed who could be involved in learned activity and when and how they could do so, often making Franciscan

writing a controlled and authorized form of writing (Palomo, 2014: 114-120). There were even issues of a spiritual nature; some friars saw writing as the expression of a sort of *vanitas* which went against the humility demanded of them, while others established an irreconcilable dichotomy between apostolic work and writing, contrary to the relatively common vision of writing as a way of prolonging missionary activity (Palomo, 2015).

Alongside these considerations, we should also ponder the importance which manuscripts had in Franciscan written production, both in the metropolitan and colonial worlds. Manuscripts undoubtedly played a central role in the Order's means of communication and memory, which in principle entailed more restricted and controlled circulation. To some extent, this also explains why the volume of extant texts represents in reality only a tiny part of what the Franciscans actually produced during the Early Modern Period, reinforcing yet again the charge of seeming intellectual detachment which has so often been levelled at them. However, the catalogues of Nicolás Antonio, Barbosa Machado, Wadding and Juan de San Antonio contain several indications that a number of texts written by Franciscans were circulated in manuscript form and have since been lost.

This apparent preference for manuscript form does not mean that the Franciscans did not also make use of print, or indeed that they were unaware of the technology's potential. We need only recall Juan de Santa María and Diego de San Francisco's printed texts on Franciscan martyrs in Japan to prove this. They are a clear display of the intentional propaganda which Spanish Franciscans were so keen to use to capitalize upon the glory of the martyrs in Japan as part of their ongoing competition with the Jesuits.[3] However, their use of printing was often confined by determining factors which left many texts in manuscript form waiting to be printed: political constraints (like those which affected Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia General*); the aforementioned financial issues; and decisions made by superiors in the Order according to the opportunities and/or circumstances of the time.

Such difficulties were perhaps exacerbated in colonial contexts, especially in places like Portuguese India and Portuguese America, where printing presses were only rarely (if at all) present, which meant writers had to turn to European printers for their needs. In these contexts, manuscript form probably played a more determining role, as shown by chronicles. Essentially, the chronicle genre, beyond its importance for recording history, for identity and for edification, often took on propagandistic tones in the disputes which took place within the missionary field. The Jesuits were quickly able to put in writing the history of their missions in Asia and even in Portuguese America; the Friars Minor did not have such luck. In India, Paulo da Trindade never saw his *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* printed, and writers such as Miguel da Ilha and Vicente do Salvador composed texts in the first decades of the seventeenth century on the Franciscan presence in Brazil which only ever circulated in manuscript form. The first Franciscan chronicle on Brazil to be published was António de Santa Maria Jaboatão's in 1761, in which he recounted the works and writers of the province and showed how important manuscripts had been in his co-religionists' written production (Jaboatão, 1761: 209-228). Franciscan historiography was undoubtedly more visible in print, and at an earlier stage, in the Spanish world. Juan de Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana* was published in Seville in 1615; Diego de Córdoba y Salinas' *Coronica* on the province of Peru was printed in Lima in 1651; Diego de Mendoza's work on the Franciscans of San Antonio de los Charcas was published in Madrid in 1661. Even then, though, there was a countless number of historical texts, like the two *Historias* of Toribio de Benavente and Jerónimo de Mendieta, which circulated in manuscript form. In New Spain itself, where printing was quite common, at least during the sixteenth century, the circulation of handwritten texts was always a particularly important instrument of evangelization and more generally in the shaping of Franciscan intellectual culture (González Rodríguez, 1992).

We must not, however, neglect to mention the status of visual culture, and even oral culture,[4] in the Franciscans' means of communication and memory within the Iberian world. The use of images in New Spanish missionary contexts is well-known, such as the pictographic language found in catechisms such as Peter of Ghent's. Furthermore, it was particularly successfully expressed in Diego de Valadés' *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia, 1579). This text, as is obvious from its title, underlined the importance of orality as a vehicle for evangelizing indigenous people. However, it also included some 26 engravings, a number of which were offered as a powerful mnemonic tool for the ministers who were tasked with the conversion (Maza, 1945; Báez Rubí, 2005; Ortega Sánchez, 2013). The emblematic and hybrid character of some of Valadés' images was also present in drawings in Portuguese India, such as in Fr. António de São Tiago's *Visão de Afonso Henriques*, a text of political providentialism which is analyzed in the present dossier by Ângela Barreto Xavier. The Franciscans used images, in fact, for a variety of purposes. For Fr. Cristóvão de Lisboa, for example, they were an instrument for natural knowledge: he depicted over 160 species in his *História dos animaes e arvores do Maranhão* (Walter, 2000). But images could also be used for propagandistic and devotional purposes; Jacques Callot and Wolfgang Kilian's engravings about the Franciscan martyrs of Nagasaki had a particular great reception across the whole Iberian world, and were replicated in altars, paintings and tiles such as those which are found in the convents of Saint Francis in Porto and Recife. The frescoes at Cuernavaca, although based on other sources, also depicted the same episode.

IMPERIAL CONNECTIONS

Despite the relative lack of attention they have received, the Franciscans were often at the forefront of the political, social and religious make-up of the regions

which constituted the Iberian empires. They were without doubt an essential element in proselytizing activities which went beyond the strictly religious. They thus contributed, through indoctrination and religious framing, to the political and cultural integration of indigenous peoples living under Spanish and Portuguese rule, seeking to turn them into "good Christians" and hence into "good subjects" (Xavier, 2008; Díaz Serrano, 2010; Díaz Serrano, 2012). But, along with their religious roles, they were also central to the make-up of the societies which emerged in overseas Iberian contexts. Not only did they create links with indigenous people, *mestizos*, slaves and so on through their *doctrinas*, brotherhoods and other institutions, but they also established close relations with colonial elites themselves, often demonstrating a certain level of overlap with *criollo*/*casado* groups.[5]

The experience of the Asian and American worlds made the Franciscans, along with other groups, somewhat "specialists" or "experts" on the Empire (Gruzinski, 2010: 185-205). The duties they carried out in the missionary field allowed them to build up considerable knowledge of "worldly matters", of the places and natural environments which they inhabited, of the range of native political, social, religious and cultural realities they faced. In this field, it was undoubtedly the Capuchins, another branch of the Franciscan family, who were particularly keen to describe such matters in their writings concerning their missions in the Atlantic —missions paid for by Rome and other powers (Daher, 2002; Santos, 2011). But the Franciscans in the service of the Iberian crowns also took part in the written and/or visual production of this missionary and colonial knowledge. In general, this knowledge was built on a complex exchange between the European world, which acted as a point of reference, and indigenous or local knowledge which the friars brought together and accommodated to their own logic with the aim of understanding and controlling that knowledge (Castelnau-L'Estoile *et al.*, 2011). Mastering the indigenous languages is an excellent example of this: for the task of evangelization itself, knowledge of these languages implied "colonizing" them, fitting them into (Latin) grammatical models which were foreign to them, often configuring "general languages" and, in some cases, also giving them a written form (Pinheiro, 2009; Estenssoro and Itier, 2015). As well as grammar manuals and dictionaries, such as those written by Andrés de Olmos, Alonso de Molina (Nahuatl), Cristóvão de Jesús (Konkani) and Mateus de Jesús María (Aruan), this linguistic knowledge entailed the production, and often the translation, into indigenous languages of an endless stream of catechisms, manuals of confession and other doctrinal and devotional texts produced to serve as an instrument for evangelization.

Missionary activity also favored the development of an almost ethnographic knowledge about the societies which were the object of conversion efforts. In this respect, Franciscan written production about the sixteenth-century Meso-American world (Motolinia, Sahagún, Mendieta, Torquemada), once again, is particularly eloquent on the strategic and missionary interest in understanding those societies, but also on the methods used to understand and describe their social and political order, their forms of belief, and their material culture —methods not really different from those employed by the missionaries of other religious orders. Far from readings of these texts which have removed them from their contexts, which have seen in them expressions of an *avant-la-lettre* anthropology and ethnography, it is better to interpret them essentially as forms of "cultural translations", necessarily conditioned by ideological factors, by specific schemas of knowledge and belief, by concrete expectations and by defined intentions. All of these elements inevitably shaped the vision built by the Franciscan missionaries—as the visions built by other missionaries—about the indigenous populations in the Americas and in India, dictating the categories which they used to identify them and identify their rites, "idolatries", customs, government and social hierarchies (Ríos Castaño, 2014; Xavier and Županov, 2015).

These epistemological factors were also instrumental in the development of a particular type of natural knowledge towards which the Franciscans, thanks to their spiritual tradition, were probably especially inclined.[6] Built on the foundation of their own experiences and the indigenous knowledge which they gathered, this understanding of the natural world was given material form in descriptions of spaces, but also through the accumulation of information about the regions' flora and fauna and about the potential uses and applications of fruits, plants, birds and so on. Indeed, some even produced complete pharmacopoeias and texts on medicinal knowledge and practice which were usually based on indigenous traditions (Pardo-Tomás, 2013). This natural knowledge often took on an essentially pragmatic outlook, focused on the qualities and characteristics of the objects they were describing; they were sometimes represented visually, as in Cristóvão de Lisboa's aforementioned *História*. In other cases, however, understanding of flora and fauna of the imperial territories was conditioned by a theologically-rooted perception of the world, whose legibility allowed the writers, through a kind of exegetic exercise, to decode the spiritual and moral significance of plants and animals (Pimentel and Marcaida, 2008).

As noted above, the Franciscans were deeply involved with colonial societies alongside their role in the missionary field and in the production of colonial knowledge. They often became keen observers of these societies, of their mixed nature, of the problems arising at the heart of them between different groups and wishes, and of the problems arising from metropolitan power structures. At times, they spoke up to criticize the colonizers' and the Crown's abuses, and at other times set out to defend the interests of specific groups and of their own institutions. The quantity of reflections arising from their experiences of the colonial world was by no means small —reflections on the two Empires, on their history and construction, on their governance, on the regions they occupied and on those regions' inhabitants. And these reflections

translated into several genres, some of them unexpected: accounts addressed to the King, but also chronicles, hagiographies, writings on natural history, sermons and devotional texts. They all served as forms of writing in which the authors could not only level criticism and heap praise, but also articulate (often by employing their dense intellectual heritage) specific ways of understanding the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies, deeply rooted in their colonial context. Traditions native to Europe —millenarism, providentialism, Roman imperialism, stoicism, and so on— and even elements of local politic imaginations often were at the basis of the religious and missionary discourses on imperial realities (MacCormack, 2007).

In this sense, the Franciscans continually sustained, both in Portuguese India and in Iberian America, a literature which in some ways came to proclaim the worth of colonial spaces, which were often relegated to subalternity by the metropolitan outlook. Friars such as Alonso de la Rea, Antonio Ramírez and António do Rosário underlined in chronicles and other texts the perfection of the climate, nature and the riches in the provinces where they lived. They thus sought to "sanctify" these territories, often framing them in Edenic terms and adopting a discourse which other colonial actors also used (Holanda, 2010; Cañizares-Esguerra, 2008: 239-283; Rubial García, 2010: 210-230). Lives and hagiographies also played a fundamental role when building up this tropical holiness, a land which always had "*criollista*" undertones (Rubial García, 1999). It is little wonder, then, that the Franciscans quickly attracted a good number of people born in the colonies to families of Spanish and Portuguese origin. In some places, like Peru, the links with *criollo* groups were even more intense than those established by the Jesuits (Gálvez Peña, 2012). Aspirations for autonomy and the demands made in the face of the position of *gachupines* and *reinóis* found a perfect expression in the writings of the Franciscans in New Spain, Peru, Brazil and Portuguese India. They thus contributed to the growth of a *criollo* self-consciousness or self-identity which ran through much of their writing and which also often favored the emergence of an urban patriotism and even the resignification of the indigenous past (Lavallé, 1982; Rubial García, 2010: 213-342; Xavier, 2007; Jeanne, 2012; Gálvez Peña, 2012).

But Franciscan texts did not only reflect the aspirations of colonizers of peninsular origin. At times, they accompanied friars' efforts to frame certain communities within the heart of colonial societies and integrate them, defining and reinforcing their respective identities within an ethnically and culturally mixed world. And promoting specific devotions through sermons, images, celebrations and so on often proved to be an effective way of doing that. Beyond the cults advocated specifically to indigenous populations, there were several others related to specific members of the Order which the Franciscans attempted to integrate into some groups' daily lives. One important example is the figure of Gonçalo Garcia, a *mestizo*. Born in Portuguese India and one of the friars martyred in Nagasaki in 1597, he became a particularly successful object of worship in the Portuguese-American world during the eighteenth century, becoming a devotional referent promoted to *pardo* communities in places like Bahia and Recife (Bezerra and Almeida, 2012).

The connections between the Asian and American worlds associated with Garcia and his cult in Portuguese America bring to light one final aspect of the phenomena which resulted from the Franciscans' role in the imperial Iberian world. The growth of a truly international network of convents allowed members of the Order to establish links with each other between Mexico, Macau, Goa, Lima, Seville and a number of other places, which in turn encouraged the circulation of books, images, money, relics and people. It allowed for journeys like Martín Ignacio de Loyola's between Spanish America, the Philippines and Portuguese Asia, and for the publication in New Spain of Diego de San Francisco's manuscript *Relación*, written in the Philippines in 1625, with an imprint from Manila. A central role in the formation of these connections went to those who moved from the frontiers of both Empires to their European centers. Diego de Valadés, Jerónimo de Mendieta, Miguel da Purificação, Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba and Francisco de Ayeta all travelled to advance their provinces' affairs, from participating in general congregations to demanding autonomy and government, from jurisdictional conflicts with bishops to recruiting missionaries and attempting to promote the beatification of certain figures (Rubial García, 2012; Gálvez Peña, 2012; Jeanne, 2012; Xavier, 2014). They often carried their own texts or their co-religionists' (such as catechisms, grammar manuals, chronicles, hagiographies and records) which they sought to have printed in Europe or which they simply presented to their superiors or to the royal and pontifical authorities. In part, they thus contributed to "making present" imperial realities in metropolitan contexts. This, in turn, simultaneously contributed to the accumulation of a large body of linguistic, political and natural knowledge in Lisbon, Madrid and Rome, which other friars used to form their own new perceptions of colonial worlds (Xavier and Županov, 2015: 158-201).

The present dossier brings together five studies based on the topics outlined in this brief introduction, all of which focus on a different aspect of the Franciscans' intellectual output in Iberian imperial contexts, and especially within the Portuguese Empire. The first essay, by Ângela Barreto Xavier, analyzes how political providentialism was expressed in Portuguese India by António de São Tiago, who used it as an instrument to legitimize the Braganza monarchy. This theme of the formation of an imperial imagination created in colonial places is continued by Federico Palomo, who focuses on António do Rosário and his text *Frutas do Brasil* (Lisbon, 1702) and examines how the author made use of his knowledge of the plant-based natural world to construct a complex allegory rooted in Portuguese America. Zoltán Biedermann explores how the notion of spiritual conquest affected the textual organization of knowledge in Paulo da Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, written in the 1630s. He

stresses the prevalence given to time over space in this Franciscan friar work. Trindade weakened the link between knowledge and space, making time to emerge as a central organizing principle. Liam Brockey's work looks at the construction of Franciscan historical records in East Asia, underlining both how they differ from other orders' chronicles and the role they played in disputes with other missionary groups such as the Society of Jesus. Chronicles are also the subject of Zulmira Santos' work, which focuses on António Maria Jaboatão's *Orbe Brasilico* (Lisbon, 1761). However, her analysis homes in on the role which the text played, at a time when the Jesuit Order was in crisis, in entrenching "Franciscan holiness" in Portuguese-America and in turn attempting to create a Franciscan Brazil.

I would like to end this introduction by thanking all the authors for their commitment and interest in contributing to this dossier, as well as the journal's editorial board for the opportunity to take forward this project and the trust they have placed in me.

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NOTES

1 At times, the differences were more a result of the duties – teaching and apostolic – which each religious establishment had, rather than the Order to which they belonged. For example, such differences might arise between a Jesuit college and a Jesuit professed house, or between a mendicant convent with an educational function versus one without such a function (Carvalho, 1998: XXIII).

2 In the case of the Portuguese-Asian imperial territories, we only know the inventory of the Convent of Santo António de Tana from 1725 (Xavier, 2011). In the case of Portuguese America, we have been able to partially reconstruct the libraries of Salvador, Olinda, Paraíba and Igarassu (Almeida, 2012: II, 481-532). In the case of Spanish America, a small number of deposits, such as the San Gabriel Collection in the Franciscan Library of Cholula (Puebla, Mexico) also give an idea of how important libraries were in Franciscan convents. Among the inventories published, it is worth noting the Colegio de Tlatelolco's, which was founded in 1536 (Mathes, 1982).

3 Neither must we forget the role which Fr. Juan de Zumárraga played as Bishop in the introduction of the printing press to New Spain in 1539 (Toribio Medina, 1907-1912: vol. 1; Zulaica Gárate, 1939), or how important the installation of a printing press in the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco itself was for the circulation of a number of Franciscan texts (Mathes, 1995).

4 Oral culture was not only important or preaching and teaching in Franciscan missionary contexts. Texts like Bernadino de Sahagún's *Coloquios* and the *Huehuetlahtolli*, a collection of texts collated by Andrés de Olmos in 1553, did not reproduce real examples of indigenous orality, as has been argued. They were in fact texts "constructed" by friars (Dehouve, 2000 and Dehouve, 2014). However, the very wish itself to recreate this type of orality and discourse shows how the Franciscans bestowed considerable status upon oral forms of communication and memory; indeed, Sahagún's own methods when writing his *Historia* had a significant component of oral communication (Pardo Tomás, 2013). In the same sense, there is a range of evidence which suggests that in some Portuguese provinces oral memory about the friars known for their virtue was still present in the seventeenth century (Palomo, 2015).

5 The term *casado* was used as a generic category to denote Portuguese people who lived in the *Estado da Índia*, versus clerics, soldiers and *reinóis* (people sent by the King). The term could also encompass converted locals (*casados negros*).

6 Francis of Assisi and Bonaventura's spirituality established a particular relationship with nature, seeing in its elements God's presence. Thus, decoding nature was understood as a mean to approach the Creator (Vauchez, 2009: 394-426). In this regard, the intellectual output of the Franciscans linked to Oxford and Paris Universities during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was particularly important in fields such as mathematics or natural philosophy. Among others, Robert Grosseteste, Barthomeus Anglicus, Duns Scotus, and Roger Bacon's writings improved the use of an experimental way for understanding natural reality (Lenhart, 1924). In the early sixteenth century Spain, for example, the Bernardino de Laredo's spiritual works were framed by a strong medical/pharmacological perspective (Buffon, 2013: 361-367; Boon, 2012: 85-107), which found continuity in the colonial world.

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Looking through the *Vizão Feita por Xpo a el Rey Dom Affonso Henriques* (1659) Franciscans in India and the legitimization of the Braganza monarchy

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ABSTRACT: Early modern Portuguese political providentialism has attracted significant scholarly interest in recent years. Whether in reference to the legitimization of imperialism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to the divine justification of royal power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (especially after 1640), to Sebastianism, the Fifth Empire and other forms of millenarism, or to the uses of astrology, scholars have demonstrated that political providentialism was a familiar language to the Portuguese monarchy.

Little is known, however, about the formulation and spread of political providentialism in the Asian part of the Portuguese Empire. In this paper I provide a more complex picture of the dissemination of this language in the Estado da Índia through an analysis of the treatise *Vizão de Affonso Henriques*, written in Goa by Friar António de S. Thiago, in the year 1659. How does this treatise relate to metropolitan political providentialism, namely in the context of the legitimization of the Braganza monarchy? How is Franciscanism crucial in the treatise's structure? And can the treatise be located at the crossroads of Euro-Asiatic political culture?

KEYWORDS: Political Providentialism; Franciscans; Portuguese Empire; India.

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RESUMEN: *Mirar a través de la Vizão Feita por Xpo a el Rey Dom Affonso Henriques (1659). Franciscanos en la India y la legitimación de la monarquía Braganza*.- En los últimos años el estudio del providencialismo político en el Portugal Moderno ha despertado un significativo interés académico. Ya sea como referencia a la legitimación del imperialismo de los siglos XV y XVI, ya a la justificación divina del poder real en los siglos XVI y XVII (sobre todo después de 1640), como al Sebastianismo, al Quinto Imperio y demás formas de milenarismo o a los usos de la astrología, los especialistas han demostrado que el providencialismo era una lenguaje conocido en la monarquía portuguesa.

Poco se sabe, sin embargo, de su formulación y propagación en la parte asiática del Imperio portugués. En este trabajo se propone una imagen más compleja de la difusión del providencialismo político en el Estado de la India a través de un análisis del tratado, Vizão de Affonso Henriques, escrito en Goa por Fray Antonio de S. Thiago en el año 1659. ¿Cómo se relaciona este tratado con el providencialismo político metropolitano, esto es, con el contexto de la legitimación de la monarquía Braganza? ¿Jugó el franciscanismo un papel crucial en la estructura del tratado? ¿Puede localizarse este tratado como un cruce de la cultura política euro-asiática?

PALABRAS CLAVE: Providencialismo político; Franciscanos; Imperio Portugués; India.

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INTRODUCTION

Early modern Portuguese political providentialism has attracted significant scholarly interest in recent years. Whether in reference to the legitimization of imperialism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to the divine justification of royal power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (especially after 1640), to Sebastianism, the Fifth Empire and other forms of millenarism, or to the uses of astrology, scholars have demonstrated that political providentialism was not only a familiar language to the Portuguese monarchy, but also an important component in the making of early modern Portuguese identity (Torgal, 1982; Buescu, 1987; Marques, 1988; Lima, 2010; Valdez, 2010). Early modern Portugal was in many ways similar, therefore, to other early modern political entities, not only to European ones such as Spain and England but also to entities further afield, such as the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Empires (see among others Phelan, 1970; Lerner, 1983; Kagan, 1990; Finlay, 1998; García-Arenal, 2000; Babayan, 2002; Alam, 2004; Fleischer, 2007; Brady and Buttersworth, 2010; Bang and KoŁodziesjczyk, 2012; Moin, 2012; Alam and Subrahmanyam, 2013; Lefèvre, forthcoming).

One of the characteristics of Portuguese political providentialism was its presence in the metropolitan world, as well as in imperial territories, namely Brazil (see among others Melo, 1997; Cohen, 1998; Kantor, 2007; Lima, 2010; Valdez, 2010). Nevertheless, less is known about its formulation and diffusion in other parts of the Portuguese Empire, namely Asia. It is true that *Os Lusíadas,* structurally based on providentialist beliefs, had been written when Camões was travelling through the Indian Ocean. However, besides a limited number of studies on the letters of Afonso de Albuquerque by scholars such as Francisco Bethencourt, and the essays of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, George Winius, Ines Županov and Zoltán Biedermann on providentialism and millenarism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Bethencourt, 2007; Subrahmanyam, 2001; Winius, 2001; Županov, 2007; Biedermann, 2012; Xavier, 2014a), we still know very little about the relevance of this language in the political culture of those who lived in the Estado da Índia. In fact, providentialist topics were common not only in the writings of major figures like Camões, Albuquerque and Queiroz, but also in letters sent by anonymous officials to the Portuguese court, and vice-versa, as well as in regular conversations.

A study of the manuscript treatise *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques no Campo de Ourique,* written in Goa in 1659 by the Franciscan friar Antonio de S. Thiago,[1] complements the insights provided by Županov and Biedermann into the circulation and mobility of providentialist languages in seventeenth-century Estado da Índia. Namely, it reinforces the idea that in order to understand the imagination of the future in post-Restoration Portugal, one must consider the multiple voices coming from across the world which were instrumental in imagining that future (Biedermann, 2012).

With 119 well-preserved folios, several hand-made images and numbers, and letters of cabalistic nature, the most striking thing offered by a quick reading of this (not always discursively coherent) treatise is a reminder of how relevant Franciscan providentialism was to the making of Portuguese providentialism in a historiographical scene dominated by Jesuit authors like António Vieira (Županov and Biedermann's work are both about Jesuits). Although it has been studied in more depth thanks to the unquestionable primacy of António Vieira's treatises (Vieira, 1718, 2000, 2007), Jesuit providentialism does not exhaust the richness of Portuguese providentialist languages. On the contrary, the relations between the writings of Jesuits and Franciscans should also be analyzed; S. Thiago's treatise, for example, must be located in relation to the later writings of Fernão de Queiroz. Beyond the probable connections between these writings, historiography has already shown that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries prophetism, visions, and providentialism had a clear Franciscan trace, following the path laid out in previous centuries (Carvalho, 1991, 1994; Rosa, 2010). The same was true in other European principalities (Aurell, 1997).

Furthermore, the crucial presence of Franciscans in the Portuguese royal court during the medieval and early modern periods, as well as their massive territorial inscription between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (on this, see Rosa, 2010 and Marques, 1988, 2nd volume, annexes) are indicators of their early modern relevance, if not hegemony. However, historians have not paid sufficient attention to the structural consequences of this overwhelming presence in the shaping of early modern experiences in the Portuguese-speaking world. The dominance of Franciscans in early modern Portugal is especially important when considering the Restoration period, when the Braganza dynasty —which had intensively supported the Franciscan orders and received their support in turn (Carvalho, 1999)— claimed the Portuguese crown. Unsurprisingly, if almost completely neglected by historians, one of the Franciscan strategies during this period was to be fully involved in the production of legitimist discourses, either through sermons, such as those studied by João Francisco Marques (Marques, 1988), or through other types of writings, like S. Thiago's treatise.

The intimacy between Franciscans and Portuguese elites had its corresponding imperial expression in the Estado da Índia. Here, Franciscans and colonial elites of Portuguese origin frequently had common interests. As I have argued elsewhere, Franciscan writing in these territories can also be considered an expression of "creole" writing and thinking (Xavier, 1997; Sousa, 2013).[2] Furthermore, Habsburg domination had been harsh for the religious orders established in India, under strict control of the crown and the viceroyalty (Ferreira, 2011: 17, 81-82). A change in dynasty could represent a change in this policy, too. This means that the mid-seventeenth-century Estado da Índia was a perfect environment for the interests of local elites of Portuguese origins, Franciscans, and the Braganza monarchy to converge. As José Miguel

Moura Ferreira has reminded us, the Franciscan archbishop of Goa, Francisco dos Mártires, also had an important role in the recognition of John IV as the legitimate king of Portugal in 1641. Was *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques* an expression of the explicit acceptance of the Braganza dynasty by the elites of Goa, as well as by the Franciscans, one of the religious orders which had been harshly "domesticized" under the Habsburgs?[3]

These problems deserve further attention, but there are also further grounds to justify the critical position of this treatise as an historical source. In fact, if the seventeenth century was an important period for the diffusion of Portuguese political providentialism, the same thing was going on in Indian polities, and *Vizão* appears to have a kind of sensitivity to these Indian languages. Was this treatise a cultural object located at the crossroads of Euro-Asiatic providentialist political imagination, a material testimony of its hybridity?

In this paper I make three arguments intended to offer some provisional answers to the questions listed above. Firstly, I argue that Friar Antonio de S. Thiago's treatise is fully engaged with Portuguese intellectual and political dynamics, contributing to a more complex understanding of the formulation, dissemination and circulation of providentialist ideas within the Portuguese-speaking world. The treatise, of course, does not exist in a vacuum, so it follows that serious investigation of expressions of Portuguese providentialism in the Estado da Índia is necessary to understand the history of Portuguese providentialism as a whole. Secondly, following the work of José Adriano de Carvalho (Carvalho, 1991, 1994) and of Maria de Lurdes Rosa (Rosa, 2010), I contend that studying Franciscan providentialism is also crucial to understanding providentialist languages within the Portuguese world. The Franciscans were deeply enmeshed in the Portuguese religious (and therefore cultural) order. Consequently, historical analysis of Franciscan contributions to larger historical processes are essential to have a less biased (namely, less Jesuitic) understanding of these processes. Thirdly, I consider that, for several reasons, this treatise was a hybrid object, a material testimony to the vibrant cultural life of seventeenth-century Goa, a place at the crossroads of Euro-Asiatic political culture.

The first section of this paper compresses the discussion of the first two arguments. The second, shorter, section looks in greater detail at the third.

Certain aspects and themes of undoubted relevance will not be discussed here. One is the Franciscan-Jesuit relationship in providentialist traditions and the place providentialism played in the more general Franciscan-Jesuit rivalry in the early modern period, particularly in the Braganza court. While an unquestionably relevant topic, and also because Father António Vieira's *Esperanças de Portugal*, one of the most important works of Portuguese millenarism, also dates from 1659, this discussion is not addressed here besides a few comments. Another absent discussion, linked with the previous one, is related to the circulation and reception of the treatise. I have hitherto been unable to find any information about this decisive aspect in order to understand the impact — or lack thereof— of this unique manuscript. I am quite conscious of Fernando Bouza's inspiring pages about the intricacies of the relationship between manuscript and printed objects and their dissemination (see especially Bouza, 2001), but do not explore this aspect intensively in this paper. Neither is the cabalistic and esoteric nature of this treatise (full of numbers and decomposed syllables which suggest, each of them, secret meanings), referring to a widespread tradition in the early modern Iberian world which frequently points towards New Christian cultural roots, discussed here. This is a vast field of research, which, due to its breadth and complexity, must be, for now at least, neglected. Finally, the visual narrative which expands the written narrative is not investigated with the attention it deserves.

In short, this essay is a modest introduction to the multiple worlds of interpretation this treatise inspires rather than a deep study of its several avenues of research.

VIZÃO FEITA POR XPO A EL REY DOM AFFONSO HENRIQUES AND THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PORTUGUESE POLITICAL PROVIDENTIALISM

As noted above, providentialism (the belief in God's intervention in human affairs, helping to explain perplexing or threatening events) was part of mainstream early modern Portuguese culture. The origins of this providentialism have been widely debated; among other explanations, Claude Stuczinski drew attention to some of the Hebrew roots of its Iberian expression, which explain (among other features) why the idea that the Iberians were "divinely elected" could spread so easily, that they were the true successors of the Jews, and that the expansion of Christianity could therefore benefit almost the whole world. This would contribute to, as Stuczinski has put it, "the emergence of Iberian messianic-providential ideologies prevalent during the period of the overseas discoveries and the early stages of American colonization" (Stuczinski, 2008). The "millennial kingdom" of the Franciscans in the New World, to use John Leddy Phelan's term, and the "millenarism" of King Emmanuel were just two of many expressions of these ideologies (Phelan, 1970; Thomaz, 1990; Subrahmanyam, 2001). In both, there was a constant tension between election and rejection, inclusiveness and exclusiveness, especially evident in anti-*converso* providentialist writings, where "Old Christians" were presented as superior to "New" ones (Stuczinski, 2008: 382).

In the case of Portugal, the *topos* of the "divine election" was strongly reactivated during and after the events of 1640, complementing the providentialist legitimization of Portuguese "discoveries" during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This can be seen in treatises such as the following: Francisco Lopes' *Favores do ceo: do braço do Christo que se despregou da cruz, & de outras marauilhas dignas de notar* (Lisbon: António Álvares, 1642); António Carvalho de Parada's *Justificaçam dos portugueses sobre a*

acçam de libertarem seu Reyno da obediência de Castella (Lisbon: António Craesbeeck, 1641); Gabriel de Almeida's *Restauração de Portugal Prodigiosa* of (Lisbon: António Álvares, 1641); the Franciscan Francisco de Santo Agostinho de Macedo's *Philippica Portuguesa* (Lisbon: António Álvares, 1645); and António Vieira's "Sermão dos Bons Anos" (Lisbon: Lourenço de Anvers, 1642). It can also be seen in many sermons as identified by João Francisco Marques. In this new "City of God", the Portuguese, among all Iberians, would be the ones to bring universal peace to the rest of the world (Torgal, 1982, I: 241 *ff*.; Marques, 1988, 2007).

The idea of the Portuguese as the "elected people", combined with that of their political destiny as guides of the world, is clearly present in *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques*. It is fair to say that the first part of the treatise is dedicated to establishing the *translatio* which transfers the mission attributed to Israel and the Jewish people to Portugal and the Portuguese (*Vizão:* fls. 7-13) in the figure of Afonso Henriques, the anointed one (*Vizão:* fls. 7-20). Several analogies, following the usual protocol of this type of writing, are drawn in this first part, namely between Afonso Henriques and Abraham, Moses, King David, Gideon (whom Afonso Henriques was supposedly reading about at the time of his vision), Daniel, Saint Peter and the angel of the Apocalypse (*Vizão*: fls. 20-47; Buescu, 1987; Lima, 2010). Taken from Portuguese history and both the Old and the New Testaments, these analogies helped to sustain the idea that this *translatio* from the Jewish people to the Portuguese had been Christ's decision, from the past (Afonso Henriques) to the present and to the future (the Braganza dynasty) (*Vizão:* fl. 8, fl. 129).

After establishing that Afonso Henriques was the anointed one and the Portuguese the new elected people, there was a clear move, in *Vizão* and in Braganza-legitimizing literature more generally, from the historical past towards the lived present. Like the Jews, who had been punished for their sins and lost their status as an "elected people", the death of King Sebastian in 1578 and the crisis of 1580 were also understood as a punishment for Portuguese sins. For friar S. Thiago, furthermore, Habsburg rule was equivalent to Babylonian captivity (*Vizão:* fls 62 *ff*), and the Restoration was liberation from it. In order to cope with these challenges, the second logical step was to establish —as many other treatises of this type also did— that John IV, and not the Spanish kings (as Philip III of Spain tried to argue[4]) was the legitimate heir to the sacred kingship established by Christ in Afonso Henriques and his generation. The second part of S. Thiago's treatise materializes this intention, which can only happen by establishing the connection between what had happened to Afonso Henriques —namely the "Miracle of Ourique"— and what was happening to John IV and his successors.

The dissemination and reception of the "Miracle of Ourique" was an important moment of the making of the discursive pillars of Portuguese identity. This miracle concerned the apparition of Christ crucified to Afonso Henriques, at that time a nobleman, just before the Battle of Ourique, after an old man had told him in a dream of the glories reserved for him. The (Christian) Portuguese defeated the (Muslim) Moors on 25th July 1139, and on the following day Afonso Henriques became the first king of Portugal. Victorious against "Spain" and the "Moors", Afonso Henriques stood for the autonomy of the Portuguese kingdom in the Iberian world, as well as for the fight against the infidels and for the expansion of Christianity (later *extra territorium*).

Analyzed by several historians since Alexandre Herculano, the legend of Ourique inspired the political imagination of the House of Aviz, two decades after the Battle of Aljubarrota against Spain (1385) and four years after the conquest of Ceuta (1415), the event that initiated the Portuguese expansion *extra territorium*.–This myth was revived after attempts were made from the second half of the fifteenth century to sanctify the King at the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra; after Vasco da Gama's journey to India in 1498; and in the context of the "messianic atmosphere" of the court of King Emmanuel I, through the *Chronica de D. Afonso Henriques*, written in 1505 by Duarte Galvão, whose brother was the head of the aforementioned monastery (Lisbon: Off. Ferreyriana, 1726). The attempts to canonize Afonso Henriques during the governments of Emmanuel I and John III (Rosa, 2010), and his heroic representation in *Os Lusíadas* also played a part in this revival.[5]

The Iberian Union (1580-1640) stimulated its revival, providing the unsettled Portuguese with a sense of "national pride" and "distinctiveness". In his *Restauração de Portugal Prodigiosa*, Gregório de Almeida stated that the links between the realm of God and the kingdom of Portugal had already been prophesied by Ezra in the Old Testament, and that these connections had become explicit when the divinely-electd Afonso Henriques founded the (also divinely-elected) Portuguese monarchy (Almeida, 1643: 27, 237, 279). The separation from Spain and the fight against paganism *intra* and *extra territorium,* by Afonso Henriques and John IV alike, was presented as part of the earthly materialization of God's plan, and the new attempts to canonize the first Portuguese king were part of this process of mutual sacralization. The asymmetry between Portuguese military forces and their enemies in various battles (such as the Battle of São Mamede, the Battle of Aljubarrota and the Restoration battles which the Portuguese had already won) was presented as a proof of the divine choice. In short: if Afonso Henriques had been anointed to initiate Portuguese kingship, John IV and his successors were expected to rematerialize it (Torgal, 1982; Marques, 1988, 2007; Costa and Cunha, 2008; Lima, 2010).

All these ideas are present too in S. Thiago's treatise (*Vizão*: fls. 15, 29, 30v, 116, 134, 136, 141, 159). Complementing the description of the miracle and the controversies it had generated, in the third folio a "Goan" image of the miracle of Ourique is reproduced, stressing the idea that the mandate given to the king of Portugal was to turn his kingdom into a missionary one in order to convert the whole world (*Vizão:* fls.3-6). Prophecies from the Old Testament declared that the Portuguese were the second apostles and missionaries, and that they had been chosen

by God to carry out the mission of universal conversion. In particular, they had been chosen to convert the East, because it was from the East that Christ had come. This destiny would be fulfilled under the Braganza dynasty, especially after many of its previously-lost overseas territories were restored to the Portuguese monarchy (*Vizão:* fl. 15, 26, fl. 110v).

Like many others, S. Thiago remembered that a "miracle of the Cross" had also happened to John IV during his acclamation. At the Battle of Ourique, Christ had proclaimed: "I am founder and destroyer, and I found and destroy empires and kingdoms at will. I want, through you and your descendants, to create and to establish for myself an empire". At the time of King John's acclamation, Christ pulled his right hand away from the crucifix, thus restoring Afonso Henriques' kingship to his legitimate successor (*Vizão:* fls. 115-143v). In the following image (Fig. 1), the shield of Afonso Henriques already predicts this second miracle of the cross, showing the right hand of Christ moving. Depicted, as usual, with the weapons of the warrior, and called "Saint" as the legend went, Afonso Henriques was now attributed with prophetic faculties.

Figure 1. Afonso Henriques, Vizão…, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666, fl. 12.

Vizão lists not only the Miracle of Lisbon, but also a series of similar miracles before, during and after the acclamation of John IV, in a rhetorical effort which aims to reinforce the legitimacy of the Braganza dynasty. Among these miracles, three had happened in no other place than Goa itself, in 1619, 1636 and 1641. Comets, astrological predictions and other celestial signs, and various narratives of Christ moving his eyes and hands while crucified were all signs of God's protection in the face of the political changes of the 1640s. S. Thiago does not refer, however, to the many visions which the Jesuit Pedro de Basto had in more or less the same period (Biedermann, 2012), either because they did not circulate among Franciscans, or because he had a clear intention of silencing Jesuit voices (he does not refer to Vieira either, perhaps because Vieira's most important millenarist works start precisely in 1659, with *Esperanças de Portugal*).

In 1619, Christ had appeared with his eyes set on Philip III of Spain (Philip II of Portugal) while he was attempting to "destroy", as S. Thiago put it, the Kingdom of Portugal through political means. A few years later, on 8th February 1636, Christ opened his eyes again at the Convent of Santa Monica, twenty-six times —looking once more to the West, but also observing each nun with a benevolent look. This was the year when, in Madrid, the King and the council of Portugal were discussing whether to abandon India, according to S. Thiago, and this miracle of the cross was a sign of Christ's disagreement with Spain's decision. For eight days, Christ appeared to the nuns of Santa Monica, opening his eyes, speaking a few words and bleeding. Another miracle recorded by S. Thiago, whose meaning is not explained, took place five years later, in 1641, when, in the Church of the Holy Spirit in the village of Naroa, the nails pinning Chris to the cross were seen to fall down, as did the very image of Christ (*Vizão:* fl. 52, fl. 54v, fl 75; Teles, 2011).

It is clear that one of Antonio de S. Thiago's aims was to integrate the history of the Empire into the new dynasty's plans (*Vizão:* fls. 75-88). It is not surprising, therefore, that he openly claimed that the political and military support given by the Portuguese living in India, as well as by Indian converts, was essential to keeping those territories under the political dominion of the Portuguese monarchy, and was thereby of crucial importance to the materialization of God's plan (*Vizão:* fls. 11v-12, 52-55, 110-113, 122).

Providentialist literature supporting the Braganza dynasty (what Marques, 1988, called Brigantism) involved, however, the silencing of the strongest providentialist language of the first half of the seventeenth century —Sebastianism.[6] The "second coming" of D. Sebastião had to be substituted by the idea that prodigious things were reserved, instead, to John IV and his descendants. In 1624, Manuel Bocarro Francês, in his *Anacephaleoses da Monarchia Luzitana*, had been the first to associate the "Encoberto" with the Braganzas (Lisbon: António Álvares, 1624). In 1642, Fr António Vieira, one of the iconic voices for this other *translatio*, had transformed the Sebastianist belief into a "Joanist" one in his "Sermão dos Bons

Anos". The true king, he said, was not Sebastian, but, rather John IV (or one of his sons). These ideas were systematized in his later treatises (Vieira, 1718, 2000, 2007; Jordán, 2003; Lima, 2010; Valdez, 2010).

Although quoting only Bocarro Francês, and not Vieira, the same idea also structures *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques*. The birth of John IV's second son in the summer of 1643, named Afonso Henriques, was a marker of that continuity. Afonso VI, like Afonso Henriques, was physically disabled, which some considered as a sign of divine election as they had done with the medieval king (Rosa, 2010: 171). His birth was therefore presented as the accomplishment of earlier predictions (Xavier and Cardim, 2006) and Afonso VI became, for a while, the "desired king" and the recipient of "the hopes of Portugal" (*Vizão*: fls. fl. 15, 90-92v, 95-98, 141, 146-149, 158, 168-169, 138-141, 192, 144-172).[7]

In fact, it was certainly not fortuitous —as I was reminded by Pedro Cardim— that this treatise is dated 1659, since that was the year when Prince Afonso turned 16 and in which he should have acceded to the throne. Writing from distant Goa, the author took for granted that he was praising the new king; in reality back in Portugal, as is well-known, Queen D. Luisa de Gusmão and her supporters considered the young prince unable to take over the government. The queen remained in power until 1662, when Afonso VI took over the throne in the coup of Alcântara, led by the Count of Castelo Melhor, members of the nobility and António de Sousa de Macedo, one of the most important "Brigantists". This last figure was also the author of *Lusitania Liberata Lusitania liberata ab injusto Castellanorum domínio: restituta legitimo Principi Serenissimo Joanni IV* (London: Off. Richardi Heron, 1645), a book quoted by António de S. Thiago (Xavier and Cardim, 2006).

In order to sustain his arguments, S. Thiago also quoted minor local figures such as Gaspar Sinel, Amaro Moreira and a certain "conego Moreira".[8] S. Thiago certainly had a connection with Gaspar Sinel, who worked for the Revenue Office of Goa, Ceylon and Mascate and who was a known captain circulating between the Indian and the Atlantic Oceans; but also with "conego Moreira" of the See of Goa, who, S. Thiago said, had contributed to the Sinel's book of prophecies. It is clear from the several references to Sebastianism, and the space reserved for arguing against it in *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques* (*Vizão*: fls. 89-98), that the belief was widely disseminated in the Estado da Índia. The treatise recounts the case of a false king claiming to be Sebastian appearing in Goa, and also gives us the name of several Goan Sebastianists: not only Amaro Moreira Campelo and "all Moreiras" ("conego Moreira" probably included), but also António Curvelos de Andrade, Álvaro Sebastião do Rosário, and Manuel Fernandes Aranha (*Vizão*: fls. 96v-97v).

There is no doubt that *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques* was fully integrated in the political providentialist dynamics of this period (albeit not fully reproducing the *topoi* present in the majority of this literature), and that these dynamics had an important sociological expression in the Estado da Índia. The encyclopedia of references found in the treatise confirms its participation in the wider genre of the Braganzas' providentialist-legitimist literature. Like any other treatise of this kind from this period, biblical references (especially from the Old Testament) were combined with references to "historical sources" (mainly the oath of Afonso Henriques) and different types of historical literature. Respectively, these three types account for 428 references (44.9% of the total), 129 references (13.5%) and 397 references (41.6%).

More than two thirds of the biblical references are taken from the Old Testament, and less than one third from the New Testament. Among these, Daniel and Isaiah —two of the most important points of reference in prophetic literature— and the Psalms are the most-commonly cited. Unsurprisingly, it is the Gospel of Saint John and the same author's Book of the Apocalypse which are most quoted from the New Testament.[9]

The remaining literary references (41.6% of the total) can be divided into four types: the prophetic books written until 1640, where the heroic life and/or saintliness of Afonso Henriques was defended; books explicitly written or used to legitimize the rule of the Braganzas; books related to the history of the Portuguese Empire; and Franciscan books. The first category includes authors such as Fernão Lopes, Afonso de Cartagena, Duarte Galvão, Duarte Nunes de Leão, Camões, Pedro Mariz, Jorge Cardoso, Bernardo de Brito, António Brandão, Manuel de Faria e Sousa, António de Sousa de Macedo, Mateus Alemão, Manuel Bocarro Francês and André Avelar, and also Pedro Annes de Avellos, the author of *Jardim Ameno*, a prophetic treatise dedicated to D. Sebastião, which appeared in 1636 and in India in 1650 (Biedermann, 2012, 145: 172). The group does not, as mentioned above, include Fr. Antonio Vieira. The second category includes the most important writers of the Restoration period: Francisco Velasco Gouveia, João Salgado de Araújo, António de Sousa de Macedo (once again), Pedro de Sousa Pereira, D. Rodrigo da Cunha, António Pais Viegas, António Veloso de Lyra, João Baptista Morelli, M.A. Monteiro de Campos, Manuel das Chagas, Manuel Calado Salvador. The third category, despite containing the fewest books, introduces specifically "local" contexts, and includes authors such as João de Barros, Damião de Góis, Francisco de Gonzaga, António de Serpa and Manuel Barradas, but also "Indian writers" including Paulo da Trindade, Gaspar Sinel and Sebastião Giraldo.

Drawing from the first three categories, it is clear that S. Thiago relied most on Gregorio de Almeida's *Restauração de Portugal Prodigiosa*, one of the most common references in the context of legitimist literature of the Braganzas, D. Rodrigo da Cunha's *Historia do Arcebispado de Lisboa*, and Pedro Mariz's *Dialogos de Varia Historia*. Another book must also be mentioned, because of its parallels with S. Thiago's "Goan" treatise: *O Valoroso Lucideno, e triumfo da Liberdade na Restauração de Pernambuco*, written by Manuel Calado do Salvador, a member of the the Order of Saint Paul who had been born in Vila Viçosa and lived under the protection of the Braganza

family. The book was published in Lisbon in 1648, and was put on the Index by 1655, but was apparently still circulating in Goa. Naturally, S. Thiago used it to describe the Brazilian situation during the Restoration period —a period of conflict with the Dutch— instead of the pro-Habsburg *Memorias diarias da Guerra do Brasil* (1654), written by Duarte Albuquerque Coelho, a Portuguese noble who had stayed in Madrid. *Lucideno* also served as a source of more general arguments in favor of Goa.

The density of Franciscan references is comparatively lower —less than 10% of the total— although the first general chronicle of the Franciscan order, Marcos de Lisboa's *Chronica dos Frades Menores,* is referred to several times. The relative lack of references does not mean, however, that S. Thiago was not engaged in a Franciscan form of providentialism, but only that his book was intended to be read by a larger audience than a mere Franciscan one. In fact, this treatise is deeply inscribed in the long Franciscan providentialist and prophetic tradition; it was also the tradition most sensitive to millenarism. Franciscans, and namely the Observant Franciscans (and S. Thiago belonged to its Reformed branch) represented themselves as the anchors of the aspiration to a *renovatio* that this tradition entailed. This "Franciscanism" served to reinforce the position of these friars both close to the Braganza family and in the power structures in Goa.

The parallel established between Saint Francis receiving the *stigmata*, which occurred in 1224, 85 years after the Battle of Ourique, and the Miracle of Ourique, was clearly intentional on the part of S. Thiago. The title *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques*, in a Franciscan environment, was reminiscent of Saint Francis' vision. As Pamela Askew noted as far back as 1969, Saint Francis' visionary experiences became ever more important in post-Tridentine Franciscan imagery (Askew, 1969), which probably stimulated this type of comparison.

Indeed, as will be shown in the second part of this essay, a comparison of the pictorial structure of Giotto's *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (itself a reconstruction inspired by Saint Bonaventura's version of Francis' life) (Frugoni, 1993) and depictions of the Battle of Ourique (in frescoes, paintings and engravings), reveal striking parallels. This is especially relevant if we consider that one of the most important *topoi* of Franciscan literature, and one which was disseminated in Europe through the *Chronica dos Frades Menores* (Carvalho, 1994: 70*ff*; 2001: 57-58), was the assumption of the existence of a direct link between God and the Franciscans. This argument, as Silvério Lima reminded me, should be understood in relation to the rivalry with other religious orders that were already recognized in that position (such as the friars of Santa Cruz of Coimbra and of Alcobaça, for example This *topos* also structured the Franciscan treatises written in Goa by other figures: Friar Paulo da Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* from 1636 (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962-1967), Friar Miguel da Purificação's *Vida Evangélica dos frailes menores* (Barcelona: Gabriel Noguez, 1641) and Friar Jacinto de Deos' *Caminho dos frades menores* (Lisbon: Miguel Desldandes, 1689). In *Vida Evangélica*, the *topos* is not only the main argument of the text, but is also illustrated by several engravings, which were accompanied by mottos explaining their exact intention ("the intention of this engraving is…"). Purificação's goal was to demonstrate, repeatedly, that Saint Francis was the double of Christ, and the Franciscans Christ's contemporary imitators (Purificação, 1641).

The same *topos* is also structural to Antonio de S. Thiago's *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques*, which openly "nationalizes" it. Already by the second folio —that is, even before the depiction of Ourique— S. Thiago refers to the parallel between the wounds of Christ, the wounds of Saint Francis, and the five wounds in the arms of Portugal, an idea which is repeated later when he insists that one of Zechariah's prophecies, in the Old Testament, already drew a relation between the wounds of Christ, the *stigmata* of Saint Francis and the wounds in the arms of Portugal. This can be seen in the following original visual composition (Fig. 2).

Figure 2. Parallels between Christ, Saint Francis, Afonso Henriques, Heaven, the Church of Christ (the Franciscans) and the kingdom of Christ (Portugal), in *Vizão*…, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666, fl. 49v

S. Thiago's ultimate intention was to establish parallels between Christ and King John IV, mediated by the parallels between Saint Francis (*alter Christus*) and Afonso Henriques. One aspect of the mythification of Afonso Henriques drew directly on the association between the wounds he received at the Battle of Ourique, where he defeated five Muslim kings, and the coat of arms of Portugal (Rosa, 2010: 160 *ff*). To these associations were now added the *stigmata* of Saint Francis in Monte Averno, considered by many to be God's mandate for the renovation of the Church of Christ. The alliance between these spiritual and temporal powers (Franciscans and the Kingdom of Portugal) was the pillar for the future coming of the reign of Christ. These parallels were particularly inspiring since Saint Francis was also considered the Angel of the Sixth Seal of the Apocalypse, the one who would bring together the Old and New Testaments, according to Ubertino di Casale in his *Arbor Vitae* (a book also transcribed in the Franciscan *Chronica* of Marcos de Lisboa).

For S. Thiago —like for Paulo da Trindade in his *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*— these strong links between the Portuguese monarchy and the Franciscans were very explicit. Saint Anthony had been the first Portuguese overseas missionary, but also a representative (although S. Thiago does not explain how) of King Afonso Henriques and of Prince Afonso Henriques, born in 1643. Furthermore, the friars of Piedade had been intensively protected and supported by the Braganza family, and a hermitage dedicated to the Miracle of Ourique had already been built by Duke D. Jaime's time —the period when the modern account of the Miracle emerged. This hermitage was offered to the Franciscan friars, rendering material the links between Afonso Henriques, the Braganzas and the Franciscans.

In short: besides belonging to Portuguese providentialist traditions, *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques* was also a Franciscan providentialist treatise, a treatise where the links between the aspirations of the Portuguese monarchy and those of the Franciscans were clearly stated.

However, this treatise differed from other works written either in the Kingdom of Portugal or by Goan Franciscans such as Paulo da Trindade, Miguel da Purificação or Jacinto de Deos. This difference is related, on the one hand, to its frequent use of the real history of the Estado da Índia and of the rest of the Empire in the narrative (*Vizão:* fls. 75-88), and, on the other, to its greater integration of the non-Portuguese Indian world.

Adding to his various channels on information originating in Europe, and to his own "cosmopolitan" experience, other voices can be heard in his treatise which are, in my view, connected to S. Thiago's experience in India. Since these Indian contexts are important variables which may have affected the writing of the treatise, a brief examination of his life is necessary before advancing further with my hypothesis.

ANOTHER CASE OF PORTUGUESE POLITICAL PROVIDENTIALISM IN AN INDIAN CONTEXT

The biography of António de S. Thiago is mainly told by Jacinto de Deos in his *Vergel de Plantas e Flores* (Lisbon, Miguel Deslandes, 1690: 389 *ff*, 396-399).[10] Born in 1594 in Lisbon into a family said to have "noble origins", son of Feliciano de Carvalho Rodrigues, clerk of the House of India, S. Thiago went to India in 1612 as "a young man, with a handsome face and gallant manners". According to Deos, he was virtuous and patient, pious and courageous, but not intellectually gifted. He does not even refer to *Vizão feita por Xpo*, suggesting either that he was not aware of it, or that he considered it to be "dangerous". S. Thiago's treatise did not only skirt the borders of heresy, it was also favored by Afonso VI — and Jacinto de Deos was writing at a time when D. Pedro had already substituted his brother in the Portuguese government. Jacinto de Deos and the friars of Mother of God were by this time strong supporters of the new political situation.

In 1612, while still a lay person, S. Thiago began to work for the king as a soldier, and was due to marry a Portuguese woman living in Goa. He was a contemporary of Pedro de Basto, the visionary Jesuit who he nevertheless does not cite and who merited a biography by Fernão de Queiroz (Biedermann, 2012). We do not know whether these two men crossed paths at any point; but we can say that both —as with other prophets, visionaries and even false Sebastians— shared the same space of early seventeenth-century Goa.

We do not know exactly why S. Thiago decided to become a Franciscan instead of marrying his betrothed. It was, however, common for soldiers afraid of losing their lives in the harsh military scenarios in the Estado da Índia to enter religious orders. From 1612 until 1660, when he died, S. Thiago remained in Goa, but he also travelled for some years to Chaul, in India, as well as to Malacca, in the eponymous strait connecting the Indian and Chinese worlds. We know very little about these two stays, but we do know a little more about his travels to Lisbon, Madrid and Rome, and through France, as Procurator of the Province/Custody of the Mother of God of India between 1624 and 1629.

After arriving in Lisbon in 1624, S. Thiago was imprisoned in the Convent of Saint Francis of Lisbon, which belonged to the Province of Portugal, the most important Franciscan province at the time. He was later released with help from his brother, who had inherited the office of clerk of House of India from his father, and of the legate Antonio Albergati. He then stayed in the Convent of Santo António dos Capuchos, in the province of Piedade, before travelling to Madrid, and from there to Rome. In Madrid he was again prosecuted by Franciscan authorities, and the same happened in Rome. In fact, his experience was in some ways similar to Friar Miguel da Purificação's, who came from the Province of Saint Thomas of India and who replicated some years later a trip with identical goals. These tensions were certainly provoked by the fact that only a Province could send a Procurator to Rome, and the institutional status of the Franciscans of Mother of God of Goa was still under dispute (Xavier, 2014b). Helped by an old acquaintance from Goa, a consistorial lawyer, he was re-

leased for the third time. While fighting for the definitive recognition of the Custody of the Mother of God of Goa as an autonomous Province, S. Thiago was arrested again. He faced opposition from the General Minister of the Franciscans of the Province of Portugal, Friar Bernardino de Siena, and the General Procurator of the same Province, Friar João de S. Bernardino, the latter of whom would later write in support of the Braganza dynasty, too.

S. Thiago returned to Lisbon, embarking on his way back to Goa on the ship of Viceroy D. Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares. He arrived in 1629. While in Goa, S. Thiago was prosecuted by the General Commissioner of the Franciscans, Friar João de Abrantes, who exiled him to Malacca. He stayed there for around four years, eventually returning to Goa in 1633. We have no information about the period between 1633 and 1640, but we know that in 1640 he was a Guardian of the Convent of the Mother of God of Goa, and later Provincial, also bearing the status of a preacher (1643-1646). In the 1650s, S. Thiago became General Commissioner of the Franciscans in India, and he died in 1660, one year after finishing the treatise.

As is evident from this brief biography, the author of *Vizão feita por Xpo* was completely engaged in the politics of the Franciscan order, and undoubtedly also played a role in the tensions that existed between the Provinces of S. Tomé of Goa (Observants) and of Mother of God of Goa (Recollects, a reformed branch of the Observants). *Vizão feita por Xpo* must be also read with the Franciscan context in mind. Furthermore, after being prosecuted and exiled, S. Thiago later climbed through all the positions of the *cursus honorum* of the friars established in the Estado da Índia, bearing witness to the disputes and internal changes within the Indian Franciscan community. But he was also a cosmopolitan man, born in Lisbon, and then travelling to India (living first in Goa and Chaul), then back to Europe (where he stayed in Lisbon, Madrid and Rome and travelled through France), then back to India, then to Malacca, and then back to India once again. All of these experiences and journeys, and the social and cultural interactions that came with them, had an instrumental effect in the formation of S. Thiago's worldview. Furthermore, just like other Franciscan "rising stars" like Paulo da Trindade and Jacinto de Deos, S. Thiago felt the need to leave a written statement. In his case this was not about the order (as it was for Paulo da Trindade), but about contemporary politics (as Jacinto de Deos would also later do with his *Brachilogia de Principes* [1670], dedicated to Prince D. Pedro [Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes, 1670]).

Like Jacinto de Deos, S. Thiago also appears to have been interested in the web of relationships between local and imperial politics. It is clear from what he writes about the status of the elites and general public in Goa that an important goal was to push Goa back up the list of priorities for the new Portuguese dynasty. He considered the decline of the Estado da Índia —a well-known and often-repeated *topos* since at least the end of the sixteenth century (Winius, 2001; Ferreira, 2011: 76 *ff*)— to have been the result of the sins of the Portuguese, who treated the locals like "slaves" (*Vizão*: fl. 111). The vocabulary S. Thiago uses is very similar to that used, at exactly the same time, in Mateus de Castro's *Espelho de Brâmanes*. Castro, an Indian Brahman educated in the Franciscan order, had, like S. Thiago, been in Rome, but for a different reason —to fight against Franciscans from the Goan Province of São Tome (Xavier and Županov, 2015). Did S. Thiago and Castro meet there? Did they share their thoughts about other Franciscans, or about the Portuguese presence in India? Was S. Thiago defending, too, the interests of the converted Indians, a trace of Portuguese providentialism's characteristic inclusiveness (*Vizão:* fls. 110-110v)?

S. Thiago repeats an idea which had been intensively disseminated since at least 1640, the idea that the inhabitants of the Estado da Índia were extremely loyal to the Portuguese king, and also clearly differentiates the colonized from the colonizer by stating that the Goan Portuguese were not of mixed blood. This was another typically creole *topos*, which had become very important among Franciscans of Portuguese origin and, indeed, among all the Portuguese in India (both those born there and those who had settled there), through which they tried to differentiate themselves from the local Indian population (thereby excluding them from any aspirations to "equality").

The eclectic range of topics covered in the treatise is a sign of the breadth and depth of the literature to which S. Thiago had access. He combined these readings with other sources, such as conversations taking place in Goa at the time, stories he had been told, and manuscript treatises which were carefully circulated within a circle of interested people (these treatises included Sebastianist and other prophetic books). What is not yet clear is how S. Thiago used local Indian sources.

The Mughals are, of course, critical players when we come to this line of enquiry, and it is well-known that Akbar's, Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's courts were at the crossroads of several millenarist languages (Islamic, Indian and Western). The presence of, and interaction with, sages and scholars from a range of intellectual traditions was important in the forging of their millenarism and deeply connected to their politics. A few syncretic experiences can be identified in the Mughal court, symbolized most iconically in the figureof Dara Shikoh, and they were the result of the intense exchange of ideas that took place in the Mughal world (Ganeri, 2011; Subrahmanyam, 2012; Alam & Subrahmanyam, 2013; Lefèvre, forthcoming). One of the strategies followed by Mughal rulers to forge their sacred kingship was to engage in intense activity with the Indian cultural world, namely combining traditional Indian myths with Islamic narratives and establishing parallels between the avatars of Indian Gods (namely Krishna and Rama) and Muhammad himself (Moin, 2012).

Millenarist providentialism informed Abu'l Fazl's *Akbar Nama*, as it did several other narratives about Akbar's rule. In this work, Akbar is clearly depicted as the Emperor of the Messianic Age, the one who had the knowledge of God, the "perfect man". In fact, Akbar's government was closer to the first millennium of the Muslim era, which stimulated all kinds of millenarian associations, inspired by many Sufi ideologues who circulated in his court (Pirbhai, 2009). But millenarism is also present in Jahangir's autobiographical reflections in the *Jahangir nama*, a book which was disseminated throughout the Empire as a model of Mughal governance. Millenarism is not the main argument, but it is present when it is explained that Mu'inuddin Chishti, the most important twelfth-to-thirteenth-century Sufi saint, had passed his mission down to Jahangir. It was this Indian sage who had considered Jahangir to be the future "light of religion" and "the chosen one", and the transfer of his mission to the Emperor was completed by the latter's representation as the maker and renewer of peace around the world. In some authors' opinions, Jahangir moulded himself in such a way that he came to be simultaneously recognized as a political leader and a religious chief (Moin, 2012).

Iconography was one of the instruments used to spread these ideas. The images produced during Jahangir's reign combined Indian protocols with Islamic ones in order to expose selective political messages (Moin, 2012: 18, 85 *ff*, 216). Symbolic elements, coming from the worlds of astrology, geomancy and dream interpretation, were used to convey this message.[11] The transactions with Christian and Indian cultural issues were also expressed in some of these representations (Bayley, 1998; Koch, 2011; Flores and Silva, 2004; Carvalho, 2001; Moin, 2012; Subrahmanyam, 2012; Lefèvre, forthcoming), not only with regard to religious themes, but also —as Subrahmanyam has pointed out— embracing other visual forms, including atlases and globes, motifs taken from geographical maps, and even painting techniques (Koch, 2012; Subrahmanyam, 2012). Parallel processes were going on in the Rajput principalities and Deccan sultanates, which were by no means unaware of what was happening in the Mughal Empire. Intercultural exchange was intense.

As well as the differences which can be identified in this rich world of Indian painting, there were also many common elements, namely the way in which drawings and paintings were frames, frequently ornately decorated using plant motifs (for a general view, see Michell, 1995; Michell and Zebrowski, 1999; Haidar and Sardar, 2015).

I now attempt to identify the ways in which this Indian visual world is depicted in S. Thiago's treatise, bearing in mind that the combination of these *topoi* —the idea of transmission of power from the saintly world to the earthly one, of the "chosen one", of the "renewer"— and the ways in which images could transmit them, was very familiar to the Portuguese early modern world, at least from King Emmanuel onwards.

Recent literature has demonstrated that the territories of Goa, part of the Western Deccan territories of India, were also at the crossroads of intense processes of social and cultural exchange. Rosalind O'Hanlon and Christopher Minkowski's essay on the identity of Brahmans from the Deccan territories is quite explicit about the networks that connected the Brahmans of Goa with Brahmans settled in the Deccan sultanates (O'Hanlon and Minkowski, 2008). Such openness was certainly expressed in the inner life of the non-Christian inhabitants of Goan territories, even if little is known, still, about these people's experiences apart from those of the "usual suspects" —merchants, rentiers, and other groups with financial interests. However, Goan life took place beyond the financial and economic elites who had close relations with the Portuguese government in Goa.

1526 and 1700 are two interesting chronological bookends which we can use to consider the persistence of this "other life". The first refers to the year when Krishnadas Shama, of the village of Keloshi in Salcete, finished his history of Krishna, *Krishna charitra katha*. This was some time before those territories were annexed by the Portuguese (that happened in 1543). The second refers to the Goan version of the *Sahyadri Khanda*, a narrative which Goans claimed was part of the *Skanda Purana*, the classical *purana* which described the foundation of Goan lands. Providentialist topics structured both texts, and traces of providentialist political imagination can also be identified in the Goan version of the *Ramayana*, in which some episodes explained that the territories had been chosen by Rama (an avatar of the Indian god Vishnu) as his homeplace. Rama brought with him Goan Brahman families, who depicted themselves as a kind of "elected people". Myths related with Krishna, Rama and Purusurama were "Goanized" and "territorialized", turning Goa into a "chosen place" and the Goans into a "chosen people" (Gomes, 1996 and 1999; Cunha (ed.), *The SahyadriKhanda*, 1877). Providentialist topics were also present in other "Goan" writings, namely those by the Catholic Brahman António João Frias and the Catholic Chardo Leonardo Paes. In both *Aureola dos Indios, Nobilarchia Bracmana* (Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes, 1702) and *Promptuario de Diffiniçoes Indicas* (Lisbon: Antonio Pedroso Galrão, 1713), God had chosen a particular group to embody the most noble and Christian virtues: for Frias, the Brahmans, and for Paes, the Chardos.

The synchrony between these Indian and Portuguese providentialist languages is striking. Were there any connections between both? Or were these two parallel languages, without any contact?

My answer to the latter question tends towards the negative. We can discuss these Catholic languages within a strict Catholic/European world, as Biedermann did in his fascinating essay on Pedro de Basto and Fernão de Queiroz's millenarism (Biedermann, 2012), but we can also consider their porosity to the Indian world. In fact, we do know that cultural exchanges of all types did exist between Catholics and non-Catholics. Diplomats, mer-

chants and soldiers are well-known intermediaries, but Catholic and non-Catholic scholars and theologians also engaged in serious intellectual exchange and debate, many of which involved Jesuit (Županov, 1999) and Franciscan missionaries. In fact, Friar Paulo da Trindade refers in his *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* that Franciscans had their own dialogical experiences with Indian Brahmans, and that in his treatise he did not discuss in length Indian topics because that was not the goal of his work (Trindade, 1962, I; Xavier & Županov, 2015). Like him, other Franciscans undoubtedly had their local "informants", as the versions of Christian books in Indian languages written by missionaries of Estado da Índia clearly testify.

In the case of the treatise in question in this essay, I would like to argue that while topics in the written narrative point towards a dual inspiration, it is in the visual text that this hybridism is more explicit, turning this document into a unique witness of the cultural exchanges taking place in early modern Goa.

It is clear that the artist received precise indications from Friar Antonio de S. Thiago, or someone else, to use Portuguese images in circulation in the Goan world, arriving undoubtedly from the Kingdom.[12] The image of the Miracle of Ourique makes this quite evident. Clearly, its immediate inspiration was the print image included in the publications of *Iuramento com que ElRey Dom Afonso Henriquez confirmou a visão de Christo nosso Saluador* (Lisbon: António Álvares, 1641), the main "historical" source used by Friar Antonio de S. Thiago; the published version of Fernão Lopes' *Chronica delRey D. Joam I* (Lisbon: António Álvares, 1644), and Pedro de Sousa Pereira's treatise *Mayor Triumpho da Monarchia Lusitana* (Lisbon: M. da Silva, 1649). All were based, in turn, on a more sophisticated image by Agostinho Soares, published in António Soares de Albergaria's *Tropheos Lusitanos* (Lisbon: Jorge Rodrigues, 1632), which became the model for subsequent books and prints published during the Portuguese "Restoration" (Figs. 3-6)[13]

FIGURE 3. António Soares de Albergaria, *Tropheos Lusitanos*, 1632.

FIGURE 4. *Iuramento com que Elrey Dom Afonso Henriquez confirmou a visão de Christo nosso Salvador*, 1641.

Figure 5. Pedro de Sousa Pereira, *Mayor Triumpho…*, 1649.

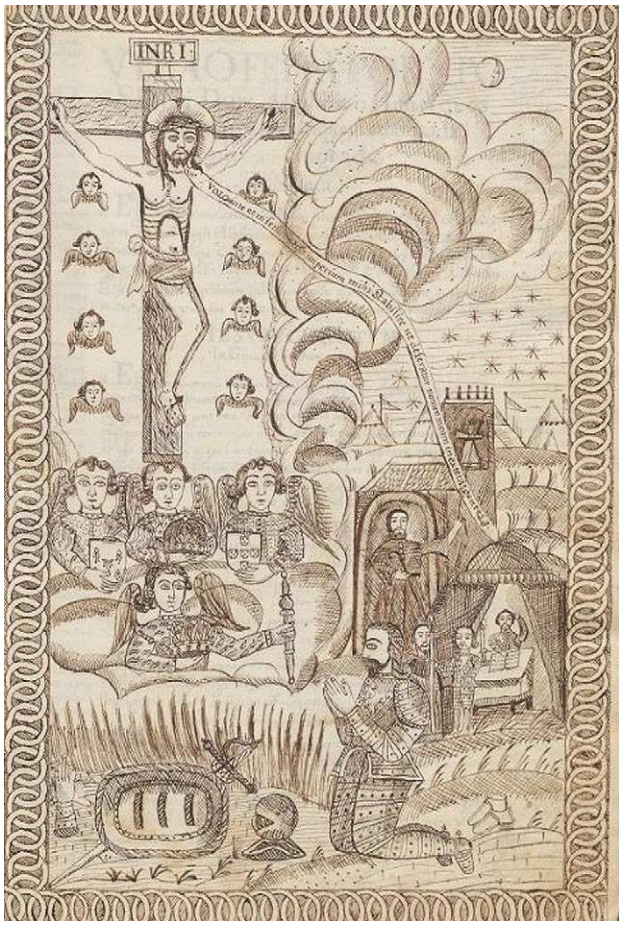

Figure 6. Antonio de S. Thiago, *Vizão…,* Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666, fl. 3.

Each one of these images has a similar *dispositio* and uses similar motifs, even if the quality of the drawings is not comparable. Furthermore, the transition from the printed image (figs. 3-5) to the manuscript (fig. 6) allowed some creativity, both in the ways features like the stars and the hurricane were included in the depiction and in their aesthetic presentation. In particular, the framing of fig. 6 differs from usual European depictions of the Miracle of Ourique, and from other images of this period more generally. On the contrary, as discussed below, this type of framing (which reappears in the majority of the images of this treatise) was typical of Indian miniatures. Further differences can be seen in the interior of the image: the inclusion of stars, a scepter and a crown in an angel's hands, held out to the King (there are therefore two crowns in the image); the location of the friar who is calling from the right-hand side; and a hurricane appearing at the same time as Christ pronounces his prophetic statement: *Volo enim in te, ut in semine tuo imperium mihi stabilire*[14]. Vision, evocation of orality, and written word converge in order to create a more performative image. *What do pictures want?*, asked W. J. T. Mitchell in his inspiring book of the same title (Mitchell, 2005); the same can be asked in relation to this image and the others in S. Thiago's treatise: what did they really want?

They certainly wanted something which differed from the images they imitated. Like certain Indian images, they sought to produce a feeling of wonder, something which one still feels when stumbling upon this manuscript. They seem to have wanted to escape from strict artistic protocols, protocols which —for depictions of Ourique, for example— had been present since the very first images, namely in the *Genealogia do Infante D. Fernando*, produced between 1532 and 1534. These, the first Portuguese images of the Miracle of Ourique (produced by António de Holanda and Simon Bening), were probably inspired by existing depictions of miracles and visions, specifically the most famous vision of the medieval period, Saint Francis of Assisi receiving the stigmata, as first depicted by Giotto. Even though this theme had been reactivated and changed by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian painters like Titian, Carracci and Caravaggio among others (Askew, 1969), it is the structure of Giotto's depiction which appears to be paradigmatic for that of Afonso Henriques' vision from the sixteenth century onwards. Like in images of Saint Francis, the King in depictions of the Miracle of Ourique is always on his knees, looking up to the apparition in the heavens and with his hands clasped in prayer. In both depictions, furthermore, the heavenly figure is suspended in the sky at an oblique angle, showing a clear desire to com-

municate with the earthly beings. Finally, rays of light connect the heavens to the earth, the angel and Christ to Saint Francis and Afonso Henriques (figs. 7 and 8).[15]

Figure 7. Giotto, "Stigmata of Saint Francis of Assisi", fresco in the upper Basilica di San Francesco di Assisi.

Figure 8. Detail of "Tavoa primeira dos Reys de Portugal", *Genealogia do Infante D. Fernando* (BL, Add.. 12531, fls. 7-8).

If the connection between Saint Francis and Afonso Henriques is indeed present, we should consider a "Franciscan inspiration" (if not a "Franciscan matrix", not yet at least) to visual narratives of Ourique, linking, from the very beginning, the experiences of the founding father of the Portuguese monarchy and the founding father of the Franciscan order.

This Franciscan-European matrix, if it exists, is complemented in this case by an Indo-Persian one. In fact, the mobility of these images, travelling from Portugal to India, and their reproduction in an Indian context (and by an Indian artist), could have unintended consequences. Besides the framing and some iconographic motifs already present in the image of the miracle, other analogies are also striking, revealing that the author of these images was an imaginative but not very skilled Indian painter, probably a converted Goan (figs. 9-13).

Figure 9. Detail from the framing of Afonso Henriques in Vizão de Affonso Henriques, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666, fl.

Figure 10. Detail from the framing of *Shah Jahan on a terrace, holding a pendant*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 55.121.10.24- …

Figure 11. Detail from the depiction of King Emmanuel in *Vizão de Affonso Henriques,* Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666.

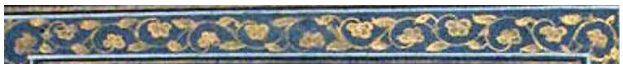

Figure 12. Detail from the framing of *Jafal Khan*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 45.174.13.

Figure 13. Detail from the framing of *Afonso VI* in *Vizão de Affonso Henriques,* Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666.

These details from the framings of other images in the manuscript and of some Indian miniatures show how Indian aesthetics were incorporated into their decoration, recalling what we find in other, better-known, material objects such as chairs, portable chapels, containers of all sorts, and so on. Indian aesthetics were also clearly incorporated into the decoration found in clothing, tapestries, and the representation of angels. All of them are reminiscent of Indian painting, either from an earlier period —the sixteenth century— or from the same decades and from neighboring courts (for an overview of this painting see Haidar and Sardar, 2015).

Furthermore, the way in which the human figures are drawn, namely the figuration of the face, eyes and nose, leave little room for doubt that such iconographic motifs were culturally mobile. The portrait of Jafar Khan, of the 17th century (fig. 16), is suggestive enough when compared to the depictions of Christ and of Afonso Henriques in S. Thiago's treatise, from 1659 (figs. 14-15). It is unquestionable that the non-Goan painter of Jafar Khan was more sophisticated than the Goan one, but it is also true that the protocols of portraiture were similar in the following three cases.

These parallels are identifiable in some of the formal choices made by the artist in S. Thiago's treatise, but they do not end there. Links might be established between some of the *topoi* that structure this treatise and classical Indian mythology; the cases of the sacred gaze, on the one hand, and of the dreams of Vishnu, on the other, immediately come to mind, contaminating, possibly, the meanings behind the depictions of Christ and of kingship in S. Thiago's treatise.

As noted above, it is impossible to address these topics in a complex and truly comparative way in such a short essay. However, it would also be unwise not to refer, even if no more than schematically, to the role of *daršan* —the gaze of the divine image— in the Indian world, and the possibility that the conception of *daršan* might have contaminated the ways Christ was represented, and the meanings of the direct, visual communication between God and humankind which transpire from S. Thiago's treatise.

In her fascinating book, Diane Eck defines *daršan* as the "auspicious sight of the deity". "To see and to be seen by the deity" was crucial in Indian forms of worship, a cultural practice that was not completely different from early modern Catholic culture (bearing in mind, naturally, all the controversies around the value of the "sacred" images that took place in this period [Eck, 1998: 3, 104]). The centrality of the image in the Catholic world, about which much ink has been spilt over the years, was viscerally true for the (Goan) Franciscans, who considered their own exemplary behavior —and the way it was seen and experienced by others— as the best instrument of evangelization and conversion (Purificação, 1641). Differentiating themselves from more "intellectual" orders, such as the Dominicans and the Jesuits, deeply concerned with the transmission of the word, each Franciscan was an image of God, aspiring to be another *alter Christus*, as Saint Francis had once been.

Besides assembling typical Christological iconography, and besides evoking typical motifs present in, for example, Portuguese historical tiles, can the following depiction of the cross (fig. 17) also be seen to evoke Śiva Nataraja, the Lord of the Dance? Indeed, the depiction of the face of Christ is very reminiscent of the majority of the depictions of Śiva Nataraja, such as the half-open eyes, looking down, and the beatitude of the face with its hidden and benevolent smile (Zimmer, 1997: 156 *ff*, 175). Or is it, rather, a free combination of iconic motifs, framed by the typical garland of the Indian devotees, namely the ones who followed the *bhakti* movement (or could the frame evoke, alternatively, a necklace typical of Viana do Castelo or the garlands present in Portuguese wall tiles and in several paintings of Christ)? In the first case, some iconic themes could have been extolled from their spiritual meanings, incorporating new motifs, like the seven eyes wide open staring at us. Adding to the

Figure 14. Depiction of Christ in *Vizão…,* Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666, fl. 157.

Figure 15. Detail of Afonso Henriques in *Vizão…* Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666, fl. 3. *de Affonso Henriques*, fl.

Figure 16. Detail of the depiction of the portrait of Jafar Khan, 17th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. Nr. 45.174.13.

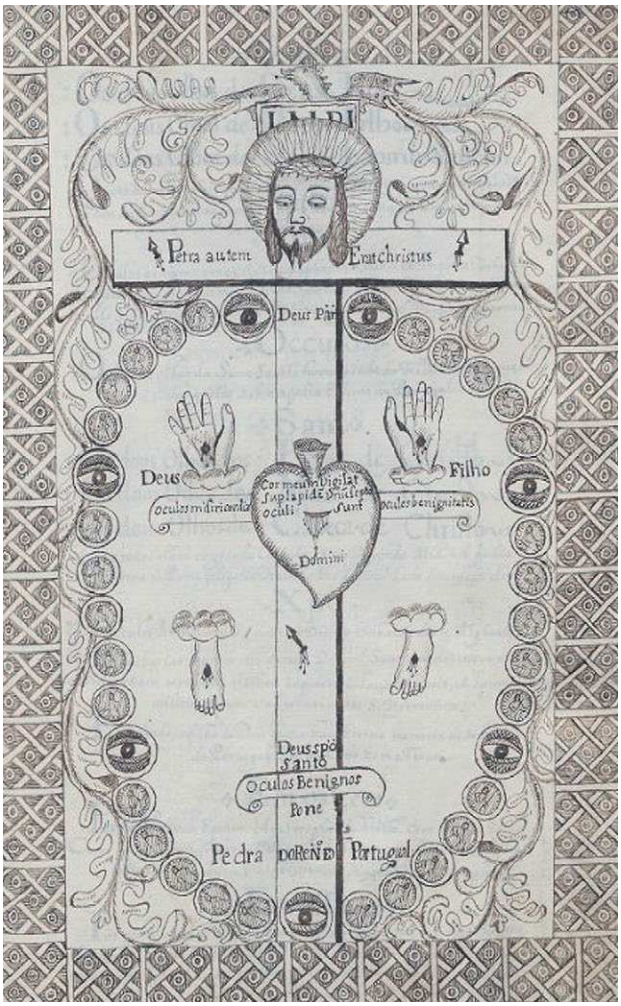

FIGURE 17. "Tarja dos olhos" in *Vizão…,* Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666, fl. 47.

symbolic meaning of the number seven, S. Thiago labelled this image as "tarja dos olhos" ("image of the eyes"), reminding us of that "auspicious sight of the deity" (the Indian deity, of course). However, if the influence is less structural, then we may simply face a mixture of Christian and Indian motifs, producing, in any case, a visual blend that is difficult to find in a strictly European context.

Let me consider, in order to finish this digression, the image of Afonso VI in 1659, the year he was supposed to accede to the throne, as it appears in S. Thiago's treatise, and the famous miniature representing the Emperor Shah Jahan on a terrace holding a pendant (figs. 18 and 19).

Again, the image of Afonso VI (fig. 18) combines classical *topoi* of Portuguese kingship portraits, such as the table on the side (here with crown perched on top), with a depiction in the Indian style. Indeed, Afonso VI stands under a structure which evokes the Mughal *darbar* of other Mughal emperors' portraits (such as that of Shah Jahan with his sons). Furthermore, he stands on top of another structure, richly decorated, with Persian-style carpets and Indian motifs that evoke the Persian *takht*, which again was very common in Mughal depictions of kingship. Finally, if we consider the visual narrative of the treatise, the portrait of Afonso VI is the richest of all the portraits of kings.

Could this be a visual strategy to reinforce the argument in favor of Afonso's royalty, contested by many due to his physical (and perhaps mental) disabilities? What is certain is that S. Thiago and this artist made a conscious decision to inflate Afonso's image, and the best way they found to do it appears to have been to imitate depictions of the most powerful of all Indian princes: the Mughal emperor (fig. 19).

It is not possible to say with certainty that there was direct cultural exchange between, on the one hand, the scholars and painters circulating in the Mughal court and, on the other, the Goan Franciscans of the period; we know much more about the Jesuit versions of this cultural transfer (Bayley, 1998). But we do know that Franciscans circulated in the Mughal court; Friar Paulo da Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* has a full

FIGURE 18. Afonso VI in *Vizão…,* Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666, fl. 55.

FIGURE 19. Shah Jahan on a terrace, holding a pendant, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 55.121.10.24.

chapter on Franciscan missions up to 1636 (when his treatise was written), and Jesuit annual letters from 1624 also refer to the Franciscan presence in the Mughal court in 1623 and 1624. From these narratives, we know that these particular Franciscans had been well received by the Jesuit priests' mission, and interacted directly with Jahangir, albeit in a much bolder way than the Jesuits, leaving after they realized that Jahangir's conversion was an illusion (Camps, 2000; Trindade, 1964: 42-51). Some of these narratives refer to the exchange of gifts between the Franciscans, who brought an image of the Mother of God to the Mughal Emperor, and Jahangir. Did they have the opportunity to see miniatures like this one? Possibly, but these narratives insist more on a refusal of the Mughal court's riches (a typical Franciscan *topos*) than on any fascination with its sophistication. More probable is that the wide circulation of these images in the courts surrounding Goa, and perhaps in Goan workshops too, explains why the painter of the images in S. Thiago's treatise adopted some of their stylistic features and even —perhaps for purely aesthetic reasons— some of their contents.

CONCLUSION

This line of research should be pursued in order to provide more detailed information about these types of cultural exchange, and the ways in which they influenced Portuguese cultural objects beyond the better-known areas of carpets, textiles, paintings, sculptures, ivory carvings and religious and urban architecture. Furthermore, these objects could have inspired the illustrator of S. Thiago's treatise. Since it has been impossible to explore the exchanges between material objects and written treatises, I have merely shared some impressionistic thoughts and observations which allow me, in any case, to draw a sort of conclusion, albeit a risky one.

In this essay I have argued three different things. The first argument, that Friar Antonio de S. Thiago's treatise is fully engaged with early modern Portuguese intellectual and political dynamics, was clearly demonstrated in the first pages. *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques* forms part of the political providentialist dynamic of the period, which means that in-depth study of the legitimization of the Braganza monarchy implies a need to investigate literature produced *extra territorium*, namely in the Estado da Índia. I believe that this exercise will also contribute towards a more complex version of the Atlantic and Jesuitic matrix which inspires the majority of current scholarship.

A second argument, following the work of José Adriano de Carvalho and Maria de Lurdes Rosa, is that we must study in detail the role of the Franciscans in early modern Portuguese historical processes, and consequently, in the history of Portuguese political languages. Adding to its identity as a typical Braganza-legitimist treatise, S. Thiago's work was also a Franciscan providentialist treatise. The association between Afonso Henriques and Saint Francis, and between the history of the Portuguese kingdom and the history of the Franciscan order, and the benevolent protection of Christ to both, were typical Franciscan *topoi* that structured this treatise. How did associations like this disseminate in the Kingdom of Portugal, where there was a dense network of Franciscan churches and convents (and people) in both the rural and the urban worlds? And what was its role in an empire where the Franciscan presence was statistically comparable to the Jesuit one? These are both questions which deserve further attention.

S. Thiago's treatise is set apart from Franciscan treatises written in the metropolitan world because one of its aims was to push Goa back up the list of priorities for the new dynasty. Challenged by the growing importance of the Jesuits in the Portuguese court, who could not, by any means, claim as old a relationship to the Portuguese crown as the Franciscans could, the political context of 1640 was also seen as an opportunity to re-establish the former Franciscan hegemony.

My third argument is interconnected with the treatise's production in the territories of Goa: this treatise was also a hybrid object, a witness of the cultural transactions that took place at a cultural crossroads like Goa. There-

fore, the situation and events of the period in Goa, as part of the Indian cultural world, should also be taken into account, as other scholars have already argued, in the study of early modern political ideas and practices —and not only when studying, for example, material objects, as art historians have already done.

Regrettably, as noted above, space constraints have meant that several relevant aspects and themes have been left untouched, including Franciscan-Jesuit antagonism, and the more general problem related with the circulation and reception of this treatise. Another is the cabalistic nature of the treatise which pushes it very close to heterodoxy and makes it a "borderline" treatise; another is a deep discussion of its world of images. I hope to discuss these issues in a subsequent essay.

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NOTES

1 S. Thiago, Antonio de, *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques no Campo de Ourique*, 1659, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Port 4666. Subsequent citations will use only the shortened *Vizão* and the respective folio(s). When this essay was ready to be published, my colleagues Urte Krass and Jeremy Roe (who is doing research on this) told me about a treatise called «Episódios Da História de Portugal E Várias Lendas E Profecias Com Ela Relacionadas», conserved in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon, which has been written by the same friar. This treatise also includes some of the images that are included in «Vizão feita por Xpo...». Unfortunately, at this moment it is not longer possible to analyse s other treatise in relation to the one that is object of this text.

2 For Franciscans in the Estado da Índia see Xavier, 2008 and Souza, 2013, and the bibliographies cited in those works.

3 In that sense, these writings could be compared to similar writings produced by Franciscans in the Spanish Atlantic colonies, for example to identify shared topic matter.

4 I would like to thank Luís Filipe Silvério Lima for reminding me of this important aspect.

5 The best work on the myth of Ourique is still Ana Isabel Buescu's (Buescu, 1987). Previous bibliography can be found there; for a later period, see Luís Filipe Silvério Lima (Lima, 2010).

6 The bibliography on Sebastianism is enormous, and can be consulted in Mendonça and Valdez (Mendonça, 2004; Valdez, 2010)

7 See Carolino, 2002; also Xavier and Cardim, 2006. S. Thiago refers to many prophecies favorable to Afonso VI, but also which interpret his physical problems as a divine sign (namely, a diary written in Lisbon and sent to Goa bearing this information).

8 Gaspar Sinel was a captain who travelled between the Atlantic and the Indian worlds. Apparently, his book circulated among Goan elites, and around 1659 it was with António Gil Preto, judicial official of Estado da Índia, as well as its official chronicler after Bocarro (*Vizão*, fl. 158); Amaro Moreira Camello was a knight of the Order of Christ, who lived in Portugal, Castile and Goa, where he wrote, between 1652 and 1654, the third and fourth parts of the genealogy of the Mascarenhas family (Machado, 1741-1759, I, : 126-127).

9 The full catalogue of biblical references includes: Ezra, Isaiah, Daniel, Proverbs, Psalms, Apocalypse, Jeremiah, Matthew, Genesis, Leviticus, Exodus, Numbers, Ecclesiastes, Luke, Mark, Acts, Augustine, Ezekiel, Zechariah, Wisdom, Deuteronomy, the Epistle of John and the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans.

10 He appears as an author neither in Diogo de Barbosa Machado's *Bibliotheca Luzitana* (Lisbon: Isidoro da Fonseca, 1741-1759, I) nor in Juan de San Antonio's *Bibliotheca Universa Franciscana* (Salamanca: Typographia Causae V. Matris de Agreda, Madrid: 1732).

11 Luís Miguel Carolino and Rui Capelo have demonstrated in a very incisive way the structuring presence of these aspects, too, in early modern Portugal (Capelo, 1994; Carolino, 2002).

12 However, there are no traces of inspiration from Francisco de Holanda's *Aetatibus Mundi Imagines*, a treatise which, as José Adriano de Carvalho has noted (Carvalho, 2004: 77 *ff*) translated into mimaged many *topoi* taken from the *Apocalypse of Saint John* and Ubertino di Casale's *Arbor Vitae*. Friar Antonio de S. Thiago was familiar with both of these treatises, but there are no traces that he knew their previous visual representation.

13 I am grateful to Miguel Metelo Seixas and Fernando Bouza Álvarez for having shared with me some of these associations.

14 "For I want to found my kingdom in you and your descendants".

15 Surprisingly, it was not the drawing of the miracle present in the *Genealogia do Infante D. Fernando*, by António de Holanda and Simon Bening, of the first half of the sixteenth.century that inspired the most successful representations of the "vision" of Afonso Henriques.

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Ascetic tropics: Franciscans, missionary knowledge and visions of Empire in the Portuguese Atlantic at the turn of the eighteenth century

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ABSTRACT: This essay focuses on the study of Franciscan written and intellectual culture in Portuguese America. Specifically, it analyzes the role the Franciscans played, through their writings, in the shaping of the Portuguese-American world, of the way that world was thought about, and of contemporary understandings of the place Brazil should occupy within the Portuguese monarchy. It examines the visions of the Empire which the so-called Seraphic Order developed in the Brazilian colonial context, the written strategies they used, and the missionary and colonial knowledge which they employed when constructing their perceptions of the American world. To that end, it looks in detail at the Franciscan friar António do Rosário and his text *Frutas do Brasil* (Lisbon, 1702), in which he used his knowledge of the natural world to construct a complex plant-based allegory with clear political connotations about Brazil.

KEYWORDS: Franciscans; António do Rosário; Natural knowledge; Portuguese America; Portuguese Empire; 17th-18th centuries.

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RESUMEN: *Trópicos ascéticos: franciscanos, saberes misioneros y visiones de imperio en el Atlántico portugués en torno a 1700*.- El presente trabajo centra su atención en el estudio de la cultura escrita e intelectual de los franciscanos en la América portuguesa. En concreto, analiza el papel que los franciscanos, a través de sus textos, desempeñaron en la configuración del mundo luso-americano, en el modo de pensarlo y en la forma de entender el lugar que Brasil debía ocupar dentro de la Monarquía portuguesa. Examina las visiones de imperio que la Orden seráfica construyó, las estrategias escritas que empleó a tal efecto y los saberes misioneros y coloniales que movilizó a la hora de elaborar sus percepciones del mundo americano. Para ello, se centra en la figura de Fr. António do Rosário y su obra Frutas do Brasil (Lisboa, 1702), en la que el autor hizo uso de su conocimiento del mundo natural para construir una compleja alegoría hortofrutícola de claras connotaciones políticas en torno a Brasil.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Franciscanos; António do Rosário; saber natural; América portuguesa; Imperio portugués; siglos XVII-XVIII.

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This essay seeks to analyze several aspects related to Franciscan intellectual and written culture in the Portuguese-American context. Although historiography has traditionally relegated the Franciscans to the background, they played a central role at the heart of Portuguese-American colonial society right from the Order's establishment in 1585. However, its role became even more important during the second half of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century (Romag, 1940; Röwer, 1941; Röwer, 1947; Willeke, 1974; Willeke, 1977). The Franciscans were leading figures in the intellectual and learned sphere which was created in different areas of the Brazilian colony, and their role in that sphere became even more central from the end of the 1600s. Starting at that time, the Order underwent a process of "intellectualization", culminating in the eighteenth century with several of its friars becoming members of the colony's academies and learned circles (Almeida, 2012; Palomo, 2014; Moraes, 2014).[1] The position which the Franciscans occupied in the Portuguese-American intellectual world was reinforced by significant written production going as far back as the early seventeenth century. However, their output was admittedly less vast than that of the Jesuits, and was principally circulated in manuscript form (Jaboatão, 1761: 208-229). It encompassed a wide variety of genres, from catechisms, dictionaries and grammar manuals in indigenous languages to natural history texts, narratives of missions, chronicles and hagiographic accounts, sermons and devotional treatises. The Franciscans in Portuguese America, therefore, contributed —to a greater or lesser extent— to the formation and circulation of the knowledge which tended to arise from missionary activity (Castelnau-L'Estoile *et al.*, 2011; Wilde, 2011). The Order promoted the introduction of certain devotions aimed at specific communities (such as merchants, *pardos* and slaves) in order to integrate them into colonial society; they contributed to the composition of the history of the Order, and of the Portuguese in Brazil more generally; and they reflected in their texts the political and social realities of the colony. In this sense, the following pages seek to respond to some of the questions about the role the Franciscans played, through their writings, in the shaping of the Portuguese-American world, of the way that world was thought about, and of contemporary understandings of the place Brazil should occupy within the Portuguese monarchy. What visions of the Portuguese Empire and of the New World did the Franciscans succeed in building at certain moments in time? Specifically, how was Brazil perceived by those Franciscans who wrote their texts not with a metropolitan outlook based on accumulated knowledge, but drawing on their own experiences of the New World —Franciscans at the borders of the Empire itself, or rather, in one of those many centres like Pernambuco, Bahia, Luanda and Goa which made up the pluricontinental Portuguese monarchy? How did they construct their discourse? What writing practices and rhetorical strategies did they exploit? What missionary and local knowledge did they employ and how did they use that when writing texts like these?

To respond to these questions, the present analysis will focus on Friar António do Rosário and his written output. Friar António, a monk in the province of San Antonio de Brasil, wrote several devotional texts around 1700 which had not insignificant success in his contemporary Portuguese-American environment. Specifically, this analysis will examine the contexts of production in which one of his most original works, entitled *Frutas do Brasil, numa Nova, e Ascetica Monarchia, consagrada à Santissima Senhora do Rosario*, was produced. Printed in Lisbon in 1702 by António Pedroso Galrão, the text is relatively well known to scholars of colonial Brazil and its intellectual contexts. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda wrote a few pages about it in his *Visão do Paraíso* (Holanda, 2010: 345-354). However, the attention paid to Rosário's work has tended to be more literary than historiographical, focused mainly on its rhetorical and stylistic features and attempting to frame the work within the Portuguese-American Baroque (Hatherly, 2000; Hatherly, 2002; Anastásia, 2009; Biron, 2009). Although the text may not appear to be much more than a minor collection of sermons and pieces of sacred oratory, it is in fact an extended vegetable-based allegory, in which the fruits of the New World are proposed as metaphors which set out a specific ideal of monarchy and Christian society (Rosário, 1702). The text in a way belongs to a genre of political-allegorical writing which was echoed in both the Peninsular Iberian world and Spanish America (Flor, 1999; Cañizares-Esguerra, 2001; Rubial García, 2010: 210-230). Making use of his knowledge of nature, which took on a clear 'moralizing' dimension, as we shall see, Rosário ultimately poses a whole series of questions related to the Portuguese-American colonial context to which he belonged and, more generally, to the role which, in his view, Brazil should play at the heart of the Braganza monarchy.

FRIAR ANTÓNIO DO ROSARIO AND THE 1702 EDITION OF *FRUTAS DO BRASIL*

We have few biographical details about the life of this Franciscan friar. He was born in Lisbon in around 1647, and soon before turning 24 he joined the Discalced Augustinians in the recently-founded Convent of Monte Olivete, in the same city, taking the name Friar António de Santa Maria. As an Augustinian, he carried out duties as a lecturer in Arts and Philosophy, as a preacher and as General Visitor for the Order. He also wrote a number of texts which, as we shall see, were circulated in print. We do not know why he made the decision to leave the Augustinian order and join the secular clergy; what we do know, however, is that he moved to Brazil in 1686, to the city of Salvador de Bahia, as a secular cleryman. Soon afterwards, however, he decided to enter religious life once more, this time joining the Discalced Franciscans, also known as *capuchos* in the Portuguese context. He eventually took his vows in 1689, in the convent of Nossa Senhora das Neves de Olinda in Pernambuco, changing his name one final time to António do Rosário. His presence in the region of Pernambuco, travelling between the convents of

Olinda, Recife and Ipojuca, was to a large extent marked by the activities he undertook as a apostolic missionary, performing many of his duties among indigenous communities but also, undoubtedly, among the members of the complex colonial society which had been established in this area of Portuguese America (Jaboatão, 1761: 212-213; Barbosa Machado, 1741-1759: I, 377-378).

Friar António, furthermore, spent part of his time writing a number of works of a spiritual and devotional nature, thereby continuing the writing activities he had carried out during his years as an Augustinian. At that time he had written a short work, entitled *Martirologio singular da invictissima Japonesa a Madre Maria Madalena*, which was printed in 1675 in a small-format edition (12º) in Lisbon by João Galrão (Rosário, 1675). His *Sermam das almas*, the product of his preaching, was printed, again in Lisbon, by João da Costa in 1678 (Rosário, 1678). During the years he spent in Portuguese America (where he remained until his death in 1704), and after entering the Franciscan order, another four texts of his were published, all of them aimed principally at audiences in Pernambuco. In 1691, a small sermon-book in 4º format entitled *Feyra Mystica de Lisboa* was published, printed again by João Galrão. In this book, Rosário brought together two sermons and few talks [*práticas*] he had himself delivered at the Convent of Olinda during the *trecenario* for Saint Anthony in 1688 (Rosário, 1691). This was followed by another short work, the *Carta de Marear*, which was published in a smaller format (8º) as a short guide to the mental prayer necessary for "the settlers in the New World of Brazil" [*os ultramarinos do novo mundo do Brasil*].[2] With possibly rhetorical intentions —part of the modesty *topos* required for any printed book— Rosário assured that the book was only published after it had been circulating in manuscript copies, beyond his control (Lisbon: António Pedroso Galrão, 1698). He thus decided, he wrote, to "restore and add to the said *Carta*, so that it may be circulated in better condition as a printed book" [*restaurar, & acrescentar a dita Carta, com tenção que pella estampa, mais bem acondicionada se pudesse espalhar*] (Rosário, 1698: preliminaries, no page number).[3] Soon afterwards, in 1701, a new volume was released by the Lisbon printer Manuel Manescal da Costa, entitled *Sortes de S. António*, in which Rosário brought together once again sermons which he had delivered at another *trecenario* dedicated to Saint Anthony, observed at the beginning of June 1693 in the church of the Franciscan Convent in Recife (Rosário, 1701). The Galrão family's printing workshop in Lisbon was used once again by Friar António to print the text which would prove to be (as we shall see) his most unique and complex work, *Frutas do Brasil*, printed, as mentioned above, in 1702.[4]

Despite the relatively "minor" character of some of his texts, Rosário's written and printed output places him at the forefront of Franciscan Portuguese-American writers, and undoubtedly makes him one of the most successful in terms of printed works, only just surpassed in the eighteenth century by figures like Friar António de Santa Maria Jaboatão, Friar Francisco Xavier de Santa Teresa, Friar José da Conceição Gama and Friar Apolinário da Conceição (Almeida, 2012; Palomo, 2014). Like Apolinário, Rosário successfully won over several important figures in the colonial world as patrons for his devotional writings, persuading them to finance the printing of some of his texts in Lisbon. The very decision to finance the printing of books like these must have taken on a particular significance in a place like Portuguese America; printed works like Rosário's, which were intended for the colony itself and the reading public of Brazil, were even more valuable because of the absence of printing presses in the region.[5] We might wonder, indeed, whether people took on the patronage of these works to emphasize their piety; the colonial elites were used to performing religious acts as a way of increasing and consolidating their reputations within the communities they belonged to and in which, generally, they had flourished through business and/or owning land. In truth, the religious dimension of financing these printed works was only one of many factors in a more ambitious strategy for social promotion. In a context like Pernambuco around 1700, financing the edition of a text and thereby becoming the object of its dedication was ultimately a form of distinction, as a way of investing in the acquisition of specific social and cultural capital. In such spaces, where the elites needed clear markers to endow them with honor and status, financing the printing of a devotional text became part of a whole set of practices which naturally arose from the logic of "ennoblement" (Palomo, 2014: 126-132).

Friar António do Rosário himself expressed this impression in the dedication which he wrote to D. Francisco de Sousa, from whom he had raised the funding to print the *Carta de Marear*. A member of an old family in Pernambuco with links to the sugar industry, the owner of several mills, and well-connected to the court, D. Francisco was also, as indicated on the book's frontispiece, a *fidalgo* of the Royal Household, a Knight of the Order of Christ and a Colonel of the Cavalry of Pernambuco. He had played a relatively important role in the so-called Mascate War ("War of the Peddlers") in 1710-1711,[6] and fulfilled long-held ambitions for honors some years later when he was named *maestro de campo* of the Recife corps, as his father had been previously (Mello, 2003: 381-382, 464).[7] Despite the important position which D. Francisco already held at the heart of society in Pernambuco in 1698, Friar António did made it clear that the decision to finance the edition of this new book had bestowed further prestige on him. The book, he wrote, was no less than an "monument through which posterity will know of His Worship as the first son of Brazil who, with the new patronage of this work, has immortalized his name and honored his ancestors" [*Obelisco, em que a posteridade advertirá ser V.M. o primeiro filho do Brasil, que com o novo meçonado desta obra, soube V.M. immortalizar o nome, acreditar os ascendentes*] (Rosário 1698: Dedication to D. Francisco de Sousa. Preliminaries; no page number).

The case of Francisco de Sousa —who, it seems, was the foremost figure in this type of literary patronage with-

in Brazil— was quite different to that of Simão Ribeiro Ribas, the general commissary of the cavalry in Pernambuco. He also took on the printing costs of some of Friar António do Rosário's other works, lending his patronage, specifically, to the Lisbon edition of *Frutas do Brasil*. But, in his case, the symbolic weight and the social effects which a move like this could bring were of even greater value. Unlike D. Francisco de Sousa, Ribas was born in Northern Portugal, from humble origins (his father was a laborer), who had made his considerable fortune as a merchant in Pernambuco. In short, he was a *mascate* ("peddler"). Through marriage, he had become part of an enriched mercantile elite which aspired to social recognition and political participation in Pernambuco (Souza, 2012). Like others with links to these groups, Ribas not only attempted to hold military positions, such as that of commissary of the cavalry, which he held in 1702. That same year, he also acquired a sugar mill and, soon afterwards, became a *familiar* of the Inquisition. In 1710, he became part of the first municipal corporation in Recife, making a name for himself, like Sousa, during the 1710-1711 war which pitted the *mascates* of Recife against the *nobreza da terra* linked to neighboring Olinda. As part of his strategy for social ascent, Ribas joined the Third Order of San Francisco of Recife, founded in 1695, as did his father-in-law Miguel Correia Gomes. The Order, in truth, played a central role as a space for social legitimation for the mercantile (*mascate*) community to which Ribeiro Ribas belonged (Marques, 2010). Against this backdrop, financing the edition of a printed book like *Frutas do Brasil* undoubtedly helped to strengthen his position at the heart of the Third Order, and laid the way for him to become *ministro* of the Order in 1710-1711. More generally, it also strengthened his position within Pernambuco.

It is clear from the nature of Rosário's writings and printed works that they were, in the main, the product of (and, at the same time, a mirror of) the apostolic activities which he carried out in Brazil's northern coastal regions. Specifically, those activities —preaching, instruction for the holy life and rural missions— were aimed not at converting gentile indigenous people but rather colonizers of Portuguese origin, and at slaves and natives who had already been converted. As with many other contemporary missionaries' texts —both within and beyond Europe— Friar António sought in his writings to prolong his apostolic activity by putting at the disposal of the faithful, as a sort of written mission, the instruments which would allow them to properly observe holy practices and exercises. In short, printing books was a way of extending his mission (Bouza, 2008; Palomo, 2010: 144-147). This aim was made particularly explicit in the *Carta de Marear* itself, whose first draft, Rosário confirmed, had been written while he was fully engaged in missions carried out at the behest of the captaincy in Pernambuco. The *Carta*, he wrote, had been very useful for inspiring "many people to further devotion and benefiting their souls" [*a devoção de muytos, e experimental aproveitamento das almas*]. In his own words, the circulation of the text in manuscript form had made it "confused, misshapen and corrupted because of the range and ignorance of the pens [with which it was copied]" [*mareada, disforme, & viciada, pela variedade & ignorancia das penas*]. Therefore, the aim in printing it, as discussed above, was to re-establish it in its original form, so that it could serve the "poorest and most lost people in these lands" [*os mais pobres, & remontados destes Paizes*] as a brief set of instructions for mental prayer (Rosário, 1698: Prologue to the reader. Preliminaries, no page number).

Compared to Friar António's other texts, *Frutas do Brasil* offers a curiously different outlook. It is certainly his most complex work, rhetorically, intellectually and spiritually, and was perhaps aimed also at more learned audiences. Dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, the work has an essentially religious and moral character, which the Franciscans Jerónimo da Ressureição and Luís da Purificação duly noted in their respective *censuras* of the text. The first, who noted that his fellow Franciscan's previous texts had essentially been of a spiritual and devotional nature, emphasized the moralizing direction of Rosário's new work. In this text, the fruits served as no more than a vehicle which the author ingeniously used as allegories of "virtues and good habits" [*virtudes, & bõs costumes*]. Through these allegories, he sought to encourage in all "the spirit to serve and love God well" [*o espirito para bem servirem, & amarem a Deos*] (Rosário, 1702: *Censura*. Preliminaries, no page number). The Jesuit Baltasar Duarte, on the other hand, expressed a somewhat different opinion in his *censura* written at the behest of the Royal Censor. While recognizing his talent for articulating "inventions of some benefit about virtues, and curious invectives about vice",[8] he did not hesitate — rightly— to highlight the book's political dimension. In his view, the text was not only an appeal for greater recognition of Brazil's already-central role in the context of the Portuguese monarchy; it was also a demand for greater recognition as a result from the Crown (Rosário, 1702: *Censura*. Preliminaries, no page number).

Beyond its vindicatory nature, Friar António's work is constructed, effectively, as a political and moral allegory, based around three great sermons or, to use the author's words, three great "parables". Each one of these corresponds to one of the three principal parts of the "new and ascetic Monarchy" which he outlined metaphorically throughout the text. The first of these parables, divided in turn into three chapters, is focused on the pineapple (*ananás*). Friar António's intention here was to symbolize the figure of the king, whose attributes he believed to be depicted in the pineapple's shape; the pineapple, of course, also perfectly summarized the American world itself. Similarly, the second parable is divided up into five chapters, dedicated to sugarcane. Considered the "Queen of Brazilian fruits", it is presented as a sort of "Queen of Sheba" for Portugal, which arrived in the Portuguese kingdom just as the biblical queen had entered Jerusalem, "with golden riches and precious stones" [*com muita riqueza de ouro, & pedras preciosas*] (Rosário, 1702: 51-52). The third and final parable, the longest, is elaborated

over the course of three chapters, dedicated respectively to each of the three estates which made up the social order of the Ancien Regime. It thereby turns its gaze in turn to the clergy, the nobility and the common people, whose respective virtues, as well as vices, are represented in over thirty fruits (Rosario 1702: 106-157).

MORALIZING FRUIT: PUTTING NATURAL KNOWLEDGE TO SPIRITUAL USE

Throughout the three sermons, or parables, which make up the text, Rosário not only shows an effective command of the tools which the art of Rhetoric offered to those who, like him, spent much of their time in the pulpit. As other scholars have pointed out, his expert navigation of the twisting paths of oratory allowed him to construct a discourse which is marked by its invention, wit and elaborate use of conceits. His style of writing, therefore, displays some of the characteristic trends of the Baroque period and Iberian culture of the time —trends which were also found in the Portuguese-American literary world (Hansen and Pécora, 2004). Based on analogical thought, a principle which was intrinsic to the period, he successively constructs a series of metaphors in which the fruits of Brazil become the vehicles of his allegorical discourse. Underlying this all is the traditional image, the metaphor, of the world as a book, a universe which can be read and interpreted just as the words of a book are read and interpreted (Blumenberg, 2000). In this sense, Rosario is carrying out a moral and ascetic reading of the natural world. In his allegorical discourse, each of the plant species he describes becomes identified in moral terms with the different elements which made up this imagined monarchy, fulfilling the same purpose as emblems but without the visual element. What is certain is that the use of the natural world was a relatively common artifice in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iberian emblematic language (García Mahíques, 1991; Flor, 1999). In this language, the natural world, conceived as a text to be deciphered in order to uncover the language of the Revelation itself, became a code or instrument for the depiction of the political order. The species and animals of the Creation were no more, therefore, than elements which became associated with specific moral meanings. Consequently, their properties came to foreshadow the vices and virtues of each of the many elements which together made up the Republic.

In order to construct this allegorical and emblematic moral-political discourse, António do Rosário gathered a wide-ranging natural knowledge, a kind of "vegetable erudition", founded on the cumulative logic which was so characteristic of this period (Marcaida, 2014: 45-136). This allowed him to establish a whole catalogue of some thirty-six fruits and species found in Portuguese America, which are listed at the beginning of the text. Not all of the species were native to Brazil; indeed, one example of a foreign species was the sugarcane plant. Over the course of the book, some of the fruits cited in metaphorical terms include the pineapple, the papaya, the cashew, the banana, the coconut, the passionfruit, the Surinam cherry, the *managaba* (*Hancornia speciosa*), the huito and the Brazil plum, to name only a few. However, the use of figurative language with clear moral undertones did not stop him from simultaneously giving concise descriptions of some of the characteristics which distinguished the different fruits from one another. He often mentions, for example, their appearance, color and taste and even their possible uses. He points out, for example, that the papaya was not only an excellent fruit but also had an appearance and taste similar to melon, and could be eaten at any time since it "soothes the humors" and "cools the liver" [*compoem os humores, refrigera o figado*] (Rosário, 1702: 109-110). The fruit of the mandacaru (*cereus jamacaru*), a species of cactus native to the coast and inland of Brazil, he noted, was the size of a small apple [*maçã camoesa*], with reddish skin split into segments, each of which was a "cluster of thorns" [*pinha de espinhos*]; its pulp, "white like snow" [*alva como a neve*], was sweet, smooth and refreshing during warmer periods (Rosário, 1702: 136-137).

References to fruits' characteristics and qualities follow on from one another, used to evoke images of clerics, friars, noblemen and manual workers. In some cases, Rosário even gives a rough outline of how they were processed. When he writes about sugarcane, for example, he includes several analogical references to the many stages of the production of sugar, from cutting and splitting the cane, to grinding it, to boiling it and finally to draining it (Rosário, 1702: 71-98). This knowledge of sugar-making and of the world of sugar-mills, which was presented as a real metaphor of Hell, culminates in the description of several types of sugar, distinguishing white refined sugar from "unrefined" [*redondo*], "crushed" [*retumbado*] and most of all dark "muscovado" [*mascabado*] sugar. Muscovado sugar acquires here a particular worth and reputation since it is seen to evoke the figure of Saint Benedict the Moor, "the glory of brown sugar, the fame of muscovado, and the wonder of molasses" [*gloria dos pretos, credito dos mascabados, maravilha dos retames*] (Rosário, 1702: 98).

Furthermore, all of the physical qualities and characteristics which Rosário identifies in the fruits over the course of his treatise come to take on a moral significance themselves. In this sense, the attributes and uses which both indigenous and European culture associated with certain species could come to take on new meanings and even blurred meanings (Lima, 2014: 351). The well-known sweet taste of pineapple —a fruit which represented the king— is thus seen as an accurate image of mercy and royal clemency. But, at the same time, he reinterprets to some extent the functions of its juice, traditionally considered an effective remedy for wounds because of its acidity. Thus, since the wounded man is representative of the criminal man, the curative function of pineapple juice is supplanted and it becomes representative of sovereign justice itself (Rosário, 1702: 5). In a similar way, he writes that the Brazil plum was used in the *Sertão*, where there was no water (or so it was claimed), to relieve thirst. This quality, however, allowed an analogy to be formulated associating the Brazil plum to the clergy's and

monks' daily tasks: providing food and spiritual relief to their sheep, thirsty for doctrine and the blessed sacraments (Rosário, 1702: 110).

In the brief descriptions of the fruits mentioned, Rosário appears not to have consulted one sole source of information. Throughout the three parables which make up his text, he obeys the rules of sermon-writing, and therefore limits himself to noting in the margins the various parts of Scripture upon which he built his arguments, adding only a handful of authors linked to the patristic and spiritual tradition of the Church.[9] In truth, some of the thirty-six fruits included in his text were indigenous species in northern Brazil, from the regions of Pernambuco and Maranhão. It is entirely possible, therefore, that the knowledge he displays of Portuguese-American fruit could partly be down to his own experience as a missionary in those areas and his direct contact with the species he describes. However, a large chunk of his knowledge of fruit and vegetables can only be explained through the knowledge built up over two centuries of European colonisation, based on observation and complemented by the wide-ranging heritage of the indigenous population, from the names of the fruits —many of which, like the words for 'pineapple' (*ananás*) and 'huito' (*jenipapo*), kept their indigenous naming— to their qualities and uses.

At the end of the seventeenth century, when Friar António do Rosário wrote his text, there was already a relatively large body of writing on this topic. From treatises, histories and natural histories to letters, missionary accounts and simple writings addressed to the king, they tended to be circulated primarily in manuscript form, although there were several works which were eventually printed in Europe. There are, of course, the writings of authors like Pero de Magalhães Gândavo, the French writer Jean de Léry and the Jesuit Manuel da Nóbrega, who, in the middle of the sixteenth century, were already collected a large body of information about the plants, animals and indigenous peoples of Portuguese America. Other texts besides these also contributed to a better understanding of the natural world and were relatively common throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among these texts, there are Gabriel Soares de Sousa's *Tratado descritivo* or *Noticia do Brazil*, which he sent to Cristóvão de Moura in the Madrid court (Sousa, 1851); *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*, written by the Jesuit Fernão Cardim at the end of the sixteenth century and which, after becoming part of a booty haul, was eventually printed in English in 1625 (Cardim, 1997),[10] and Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão's *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil*, written around 1618 (Brandão, 1956). Every one of them, among other topics, dedicated a part of their exposition to the natural world of Portuguese America. They described, in varying degrees of detail, not just mammals, birds and fish, but also minerals, plants and fruits, usually considering how they could be used.

The *Historia Natvralis Brasiliae* (Leiden-Amsterdam, 1648), written in the context of Dutch Brazil, was more systematic and exhaustive. Firstly, it brought together the four books of Willem Piso's *De medicina brasilensis*, which contained references to 89 species of plants and their medicinal uses. Secondly, it included the German naturalist George Marcgrave's treatise under the title *Historia Rervm Naturalivm Brasiliae Libri Octo*, which brought together the material he had accumulated during his time in Pernambuco in the service of Maurice of Nassau (Piso & Marcgrave 1648). Lavishly illustrated with engravings produced from Marcgrave's own drawings, the first three books of his treatise were devoted solely to describing the trees, plants and fruits of Brazil, identify some 279 species. Unlike Piso, Marcgrave did not only point out the therapeutic functions which many of the plants had, but also mentioned other uses and properties (Whitehead and Boeseman, 1989; Brienen, 2001; Françozo, 2010; Medeiros and Albuquerque, 2014).

We find something very different indeed in the Jesuit Simão de Vasconcelos' *Noticias curiosas e necessárias das cousas do Brasil*. The text is that of the first two books of the *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Brasil* (Lisbon, 1663), where it acts as a lengthy prologue, a descriptive outline of Portuguese America with clear Edenic traits. The text was in fact censored upon publication, because, at certain points, it went as far as to attempt to pinpoint the exact location of Eden in Brazil. However, it was printed again, standalone and expurgated, in 1668 under the title *Noticias curiosas* (Ramos, 2001; Santos, 2001). Far from offering the usual descriptions found in earlier works, Vasconcelos studied the Portuguese-American natural world through the prism of the Book of Genesis, arguing that they were proof of the "goodness" which God had wanted to bestow on this land and thus contesting traditional opinions that it was a torrid and uninhabitable region. His journey through the plants and fruits of the region was but a way of proving, in accordance with Scripture, the abundance, excellence and variety of a natural world which acted as an incitement to praise for the Creator. Furthermore, this natural world made Brazil a place which surpassed all others in beauty (Vasconcelos, 2001: 129-149).

Within this field of writing, and particularly considering that Friar António do Rosário was a Franciscan, mention must be made of the specific contribution of his Order to the natural knowledge in Portuguese America.[11] As far back as 1627, or thereabouts, Friar Vicente do Salvador gave an all-encompassing description of the geography, climate, mines, flora and fauna of Brazil in the seventeen chapters which make up the first book of his *Historia do Brasil*, along with the inhabitants, their languages, their hamlets, their marriages and so on (Salvador, 2008: Book I, chaps. IV-XVI). However, the text in this case is rather generic, short on details and, above all, intended to provide a backdrop of the region (essentially, the region of Bahia) for potential readers of his work. The text is in effect dedicated to constructing a narrative about the conquest of Portuguese America. But, in fact, it was not very different in its objectives from another, possibly more wide-reaching and denser, text written around the same time: Friar Cristóvão de Lisboa's *História dos animaes e arvores do Maranhão* (Lisboa, 2000). A *capucho*

friar, he was directly involved in the Franciscan mission in Maranhão, where he spent eleven years between 1624 and 1635 engaged in evangelization and in the government of the recently-founded *custodia* of Saint Anthony (Amorim, 2005). The manuscript codex which survives today, whose contents Friar Cristóvão compiled while living in America, brought together a total of 259 drawings. Most are accompanied by corresponding texts, each image depicting a different species from the vegetable and animal kingdoms: marine species (116 drawings), animals (21 drawings), birds (77 drawings) and various plants and fruit from Maranhão and Grão Pará (55 drawings). In reality, the manuscript which we have appears to have been the draft for a "treatise on birds, plants, fish and animals" which Cristóvão was in the process of writing in 1627. It is thought that this manuscript was intended to serve, furthermore, as a foundation for the text of the chapters specifically dedicated to the natural world within a wider project, the *Historia natural, e moral do Maranhão*. This project, written in four volumes, was meant to be printed soon before Cristóvão's death in 1650, but never reached that stage (Walter, 2000: 50-58).

It is clear from the text that Friar Cristóvão went to great effort to accumulate and compile a wide range of information about the flora and fauna in Maranhão, trying also to "preserve" it by having it depicted in the drawings he commissioned. In reality, his undertaking was not essentially different from Piso and Marcgrave's (probably more systematic) work, contributing to a set of knowledge that, since Antiquity, shaped a specific genre: the so called 'Natural History'. But, possibly, it neither can be dissociated from a Franciscans' particular taste for, or inclination towards, understanding nature —an inclination which was rooted in the Order's spiritual and intellectual traditions and which, furthermore, was present in other missionary contexts, such as in Portuguese India (Xavier and Županov, 2014) and Spanish America (Pardo Tomás, 2013).[12] In the Portuguese-Brazilian world, this inclination would later be echoed in Friar António do Rosário's work, but above all —now moving forward into the eighteenth century— in the output of several friars linked to the colony's learned circles. One of these was Friar José Mariano da Conceição Veloso, known particularly for his *Flora Fluminensis*, which was printed only posthumously between 1827 and 1832 (Nunes and Brigola, 1999).

However, António do Rosário's *Frutas do Brasil* was essentially a moral and spiritual text. It was not, specifically speaking, a treatise on natural history, although it made a huge use of natural knowledge. Both from the formal/rhetorical point of view and in terms of its content/aims, there are many elements which distinguish it from texts like those of Fernão Cardim and even Cristóvão de Lisboa. Written in a missionary context, both of those latter authors had essentially sought to accumulate information about the Portuguese-American botanical and natural world. They put forward a relatively pragmatic view of that world, focusing above all on the species' external characteristics and qualities, and, to a great extent, to their possible medicinal, economic and other uses. This conception of the natural world was a stark contrast to the Rosário's, but also to the conception present in many other seventeenth-century treatises and writings on natural history —writings which were more inclined to attribute spiritual meaning to fruits, plants and animals whose appearances were believed to enclose hidden, limitless moral meanings.

Friar António do Rosário —we must bear it in mind— had been lecturer in Philosophy during the time he spent as Augustinian monk in Portugal. Indeed, he shared a conception of the natural world which was present in the work of authors like Eugenio Petrelli, John Parkinson, Antonio León y Pinelo and even Simão de Vasconcelos —a relatively common conception in certain intellectual contexts at the time (Ledezma, 2005: 54). In this respect, several recent studies have made clear the close links which existed at that time between fields which historiographers have often considered to be inherently opposed, such as so-called modern science and Baroque culture (Flor, 1999; Pimentel and Marcaida 2008; Marcaida and Pimentel 2014; Marcaida, 2014). Going beyond a traditional vision which only defines modern science in terms of rationality and progress, research has opened up to analyze figures such as Andrés Ferrer de Valdecebro and Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, traditionally marginalized in the field of the history of science, from a different perspective. Ultimately, it has been highlighted how in some learned circles in the 1600s there was a way of understanding natural knowledge which turned it into a sort of preternatural knowledge, deeply pervaded with theological thought. This was sustained by specific Neo-Platonic perceptions of the world which saw it as existing on two planes —one visible, the other invisible— which existed in harmony. But it was simultaneously supported by the way in which Saint Augustine had set out his understanding of nature as an expression of divine wisdom and omnipotence. Knowing the universe, essentially, was a way of becoming closer to the Creator. The natural world, as mentioned above, was merely a book, a text, written by God. Like the Scriptures, knowing and understanding it required a whole exercise of exegesis, through which one had to observe the elements and species which made up the world beyond their external appearance and attempt to decode the hidden moral and spiritual meaning contained within plants and animals. For this purpose, similarities, analogies, metaphors —such characteristic epistemological bases of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries— were an essential instrument for the understanding of nature and the meanings which God had given to it (R. de la Flor, 1999; Ledezma, 2005; Pimentel, 2009; Marcaida, 2014). Furthermore, that is why emblematic and allegorical language, so distinctive of Baroque literary culture, found itself particularly comfortable in a treatise like António do Rosário's.

THE TRUE INDIA: THINKING ABOUT THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE FROM ITS BOUNDARIES

Within this interpretative framework, the New World and the natural world of America became for many of Nieremberg, Vasconcelos and Rosário's contemporaries a

new space to investigate the elements of the Revelation which had remained hidden from the ancients. For many of them, America revealed itself to be a new Eden, a mythical world which took on providential meaning (Ledezma, 2005: 74). The way in which António do Rosário understood natural knowledge does not only explain the series of moral allegories which he associated with the different fruits of Brazil as if they were emblems of his "ascetic monarchy". Ultimately, the nature of the New World, interpreted in this symbolic way, allowed him to construct his own unique vision of Portuguese America and the place it should occupy within the Portuguese Empire. In this respect, we should not interpret a text like *Frutas do Brasil* outside of the distinctive political parameters of the age and context in which it was written. It cannot be read from a perspective more relevant to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries —as a text in which there are hints of future separatist and nationalist claims.[13] Such thoughts were alien to a colonial political mindset which did not contemplate —and indeed could not contemplate— the Brazilian region as something separate from the Portuguese monarchy. However, as we shall see, that does not mean Rosário's text does not articulate, at certain points, views which seem close to a form of local (Pernambucan) nativism similar to many of the expressions of (urban) *criollo* patriotism which arose in Spanish America. In any case, the treatise did indeed open the possibility of thinking about Brazil in a different way (Almeida, 2012: 1, 317; Curto, 1998: 421). Rosário, not in vain, sought in his text to redefine —or at least define in new terms— the role which he believed fell to Portuguese America in the framework of the Braganza monarchy. He thus appeals for a central position for Brazil within an imperial structure which, at least in terms of perceptions and symbolic value, still bestowed greater significance on the Asian world, and particularly on India.

In order to support his unique understanding of the Empire, Rosário deployed on the one hand a whole series of discursive strategies through which he tried in part to 'sanctify' the Americas. For this, in fact, he turned to rhetorical features not very different from those which were increasingly being used from the end of the sixteenth century in a range of contexts in Spanish America and even in Portuguese India. As is well known, there were many images and lengthy reasoning constructed in colonial American contexts, through chronicles, hagiographies, natural histories and other texts, all with the aim of sacralizing the New World. It became, as we have just seen, a space in which authors could claim the presence of a multitude of signs which were understood as no less than expressions of the divine. Furthermore, it was a space where holiness became possible, especially for those of peninsular descent who had been born in the New World. It was, therefore, part of attempts to counter and eliminate the negative perception —sometimes even diabolical— which, from a metropolitan viewpoint, was often cast over the lands of America, its climate, its nature and its inhabitants, including those who were born there and proclaimed themselves to be the heirs of the Spanish and Portuguese (Rubial García, 2010: 211-342; Cañizares-Esguerra, 2008). As a result, there was no shortage of accounts, especially during the Baroque period (and sometimes written by *criollos*), which constructed a paradisiacal vision of the Americas and, naturally, of Brazil. As has already been noted, the *topos* which located earthly paradise in America found there one of its most explicit manifestations in the Jesuit chronicler Simão de Vasconcelos' censored *Noticias curiosas* (Holanda, 2010; Santos, 2001; Ramos, 2001). There were also expressions which came from a less erudite world, such as those which are found in the unique cosmogony of the colonizer Pedro de Rates Henequim, who was condemned by the Inquisition in 1744 (Gomes, 1997).

Friar António do Rosário's text does not explicitly mention the image of an Eden in Rio de Janeiro, Bahia or Pernambuco, but his Brazil, interpreted through the lens of fruit and vegetables, does nevertheless leave the impression of a comparable understanding of the American region and its nature (Holanda, 2010: 345-354; Hatherly, 2002:14). Rosário, in fact, turned to some elements which were well-established in the literature of the period, and particularly in many texts on nature. These elements worked well as signs of the favor and divine blessing which had been bestowed on the New World. In this sense, for example, he evokes the passionfruit and, along with it, the passionflower (Rosário, 1702: 157-179). Many saw this plant, thanks to its unique stem, stamens, petals and so on, as an emblem of Christ's Passion (whence its name): the crown of thorns, the lance, the blood spilt by Christ, the column to which he was nailed and the whip with which he was flogged. Noted as early as 1574 by Nicolás Monardes, the analogy continued to interest several seventeenth-century theologians and naturalists. Some of the most obviously symbolic depictions of the passionflower circulated from the beginning of the seventeenth century in printed works by authors like Antonio Possevino, Giacomo Bosio and Juan Eusebio Nieremberg himself, and served to reinforce this spiritualized vision of the flower. The passionflower became a sort of eucharistic emblem, which in turn made it the clearest indication of divine presence in the New World, and, of course, in Brazil (Cañizares-Esguerra, 2008: 202-207; Marcaida, 2014: 195-203; Pimentel, 2014). Rosário was keen to recall that "God had designed "directly into this mysterious flower the deplorable tragedy of the Passion", since it was a parable to evoke his sacrifice [*pintou o Creador ao vivo nesta mysteriosa a lamentavel tragedia da sua Payxão*]. For that same reason, he added, he decided to crown his treatise on the fruits of Brazil by reminding readers of "the flower which this land produces for the glory of the creator" [*a flor que produz a mesma terra para Gloria do Creador*] (Rosário, 1702: 156-157). And, in fact, Rosário did not limit himself to the episodes of the Passion represented in the passionflower. He also argued that a providential dimension could be attributed to Brazil, thanks to its fruits. Indeed, the colony's original name —Santa Cruz— had itself evoked the Passion of Christ. In reality, only the greed and the sins which colonization had brought with it posed a threat to the original nature of this earth filled with

signs of Redemption. With those signs continuing to be ignored, the following punishment was the only possible result:

> What land, what climate in this Brazil; what similarities the flowers and fruits of this land have to the Passion of the Christ. The first name with which this part of America was baptized by its discoverers was Santa Cruz; ambition beat the name Santa Cruz out of the land, and renamed it Brazil, after the Brazilwood tree; out of interest in wood, not remembrance of the Cross, this land is called Brazil, and not Santa Cruz, as it was at first known, when there was not so much sugarcane, so much fruit, so much Brazilwood, so much greed, so much coldness and so much sin. Oh, how I fear that with so many signs of the Most Holy Passion of the Christ this new world will end up with punishments, for failing to take heed of those signs […]: so many signs of the Cross and of the Passion of the Christ can be seen in the flowers and fruits of this fatal land, that it would not be too bold to suspect and foresee punishment upon punishment (Rosário, 1702: 164-166).[14]

Alongside the role in his discourse allocated to the *topos* of the passionflower and its eucharistic and providential characteristics, Rosário also made use of other figures and allegories to invoke the sanctity which, he believed, was attributable to Portuguese America —to show that it was a place chosen by God. He even sought to claim primacy for America over Europe, constructing an allegory putting two different images face to face. The first was that of a rosary made of flowers, drawn by the Virgin in the first volume of the book of the world (corresponding to the Old World); the second was that of a rosary made of fruit, which she had printed onto the second volume (corresponding to Brazil). In the Old European World, God and his mother had made the rose the queen of flowers; in the New World they had replaced it with the pineapple, "so that the rosary of His mother, made of flowers in the Old World, should come to be made of fruit" [*para que o Rosario da sua mãy fosse em fruto, o que no mundo velho era flor*]. While Friar António does praise both, he also compares them directly and eventually finds the fruit to have advantages which the flowers did not. Flowers, marked by fragility and inconstancy, were merely fleeting and transitory, "appearing and disappearing" [*o mesmo he apparecerem, que desapparecerem*], thus becoming a symbol of the brevity of life. In contrast, fruits grew and multiplied, lasted longer than flowers, were consequently more persevering and robust, and thus were favored by God:

> fruits, which are firmer and more constant than flowers, won God's blessing; and flowers did not receive blessing, fragile and inconstant as they are; and if fruits are more excellent than flowers, more blessed by God, more favored and more useful than flowers; the rosary made of fruit is, therefore, more excellent than the rosary made of flowers (Rosário, 1702: 25).[15]

The fruits' superiority in quality, divine favor and utility meant that the allegorical rosary which they made up, a metaphor for the American world which created them, was considered superior and more beneficial than a rosary of flowers. The comparison even translated to the Asian sphere, implicitly revealing his consciousness of the worldly dimension of the Portuguese monarchy and of the way in which its different parts could be balanced. For Rosário, Asia was present in the rosary through the offerings which the Magi brought to the Christ-child (the third joyful mystery), which themselves represented the mysteries —joyful (incense), sorrowful (myrrh) and glorious (gold)— which made up the devotion. But that was nothing to boast about, thought Rosário: America, too, had fruits which represented the wonders of the rosary. Furthermore, just one fruit —the pineapple, which the Virgin had planted in Brazil— contained a representation of the "whole Garden of the Rosary" [*todo o Jardim do Rosario*], because divine providence had decided to depict all of the Rosary's mysteries in it (Rosário, 1702: 37-38). Finally, the pineapple, the "King of Apples" [*Rey dos pomos*], was not just the fruit which made up for the evil bestowed on men by the apple in Eden, thanks to the Virgin's intervention. It was also an exact "image and portrait" [*estampa, & retrato*] of the rosary, which made Brazil, its homeland, a Promised Land (Rosário, 1702: 44-46).

But, as well as underlining the holy and beatific nature which he attributed to the Portuguese-American world, Rosário wanted, from a more explicitly political perspective, to define the place which Brazil should occupy within the Portuguese Empire. When writing about sugarcane, in which he identifies the "queen" of his text's proposed ascetic monarchy, Rosário evokes other places around the Empire such as the old fortress of Mina and, especially, India, which —despite its ever-shrinking political and economic clout— continued to occupy, at the end of the seventeenth century, a central place in the Portuguese imperial imagination. Aware of the imbalance which this perception of the different parts of the Portuguese Empire implied, Rosário makes a clear reference to the decline of India which, for its "sins and injustices", had for many years been a shadow of its former self. Rosário underlined Brazil's superiority over India, the former having become in his view "the true India and the true Mina of the Portuguese" [*a verdadeira India, & mina dos Portuguezes*]. He thus asserted Brazil's supremacy, which contributed, economically speaking, the most to the Braganza monarchy (and certainly more than a mythified Asian world). And this contribution was thanks essentially to the sugar industry —the pouches of "diamonds" (as refined sugar was known) which left Brazil every year "in thousands of containers" [*pelos bizalhos dos diamantes, que embarca em milhares de caxas todos os annos*] (Rosário, 1702: 50-51).

Rosário thus pins the riches of Portuguese America and, therefore, of the Empire itself on sugar production, going so far as to demand royal favor for those who cultivated and processed sugar. When "queenly sugarcane", like the biblical Queen of Sheba, arrived loaded with opulent gifts, it was natural to expect the King, like the wise and grateful Solomon with his illustrious guest, to bestow similar favor upon his "so faithful and loyal servants"

[*tão fieis, & leaes Vasallos*]. Essentially, it was them, he pointed out, who had been prepared to lose their "lives and possessions" [*as vidas, & as fazendas*] defending and restoring this sugar-based empire. Rosário's text served as a reminder, an evocation of the role which the plantation and sugar-mill owners had played fifty years earlier at the end of Dutch rule over Pernambuco and the northern coastal areas of Brazil, making a decisive contribution towards the restoration of Portuguese sovereignty in the region. The issue, of course, was not trivial, and would serve throughout the second half of the seventeenth century as an argument in attempts to determine the relationship between the monarchy and the elites of Pernambuco. These elites sometimes asserted loyalty to the crown and sometimes, from a purely contractual standpoint, proclaimed themselves to be political subjects (rather than simply natural subjects) of the Portuguese monarch (Mello, 2003: 160-169).

This apparent defense of the "sugarocracy" which had dominated the Portuguese-Brazilian economy since the end of the sixteenth century was by no means insignificant. It was produced during a time of deep political, economic and social transformations across Portuguese America. On the one hand, the sugar industry itself suffered from serious difficulties during the second half of the seventeenth century. The significant growth in sugar production in the British, French and Dutch Caribbean led to a substantial increase in competition and therefore to a sharp decrease in Brazilian exports. Furthermore, it brought with it a significant reduction in sugar prices and higher demand for slaves, whose price progressively rose (Schwartz, 2014).[16] Meanwhile, the discovery, recognition and exploitation of the gold mines in the interior regions of Brazil favored, from 1693, the development of gold- and mineral-based activity which immediately began to acquire a relatively important role within the Brazilian economy, contributing to several wide-ranging changes within the colonial economy. There was no shortage of critics who, in these transition years from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries, spoke out to warn about the political, social and moral risks which could come about —or had already come about— from the exploitation of gold. The euphoria which the gold industry had engendered, they said, attracted contemptible men to the gold regions, awakened greed in foreigners and ruined industries like sugar and tobacco by taking away a significant percentage of the slave workforce and diverting away other goods needed for the upkeep of sugar-mills and plantations (Souza, 2006: 78-86). By making sugarcane the "queen" of his monarchy and the product which ensured the Empire's riches, António do Rosário appears to have sided with those critical voices, if only implicitly. He does not directly mention gold in his text, but —just like other political and religious figures of the age, such as the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Antonio Andreoni (Antonil) in his *Cultura e opulência do Brazil* (Lisbon, Valentim da Costa, 1711)— he does claim that sugar was the central element of the Portuguese-Brazilian economy and demands royal support (Souza, 2006: 84-98).

His arguments take on further significance, to a certain extent, when put in the context of late-seventeenth-century Pernambuco, where António do Rosário wrote this, and other, texts. His presence in several of the captaincy's convents put him in direct contact with the different faces of society in Pernambuco, making him by necessity aware of many of the problems and hopes which had been growing there since the middle of the 1600s. We must not forget that after the war against the Dutch, and after the Dutch had ceded control over the region in 1654, Pernambuco found itself embroiled in several political and social tensions which undoubtedly marked its unique course within Portuguese America. As pointed out by Evaldo Cabral de Mello, whose line of argument I follow here, the tensions led to political instability, the result of the aforementioned complex relations established between the elites of Pernambuco and the King's representatives. The Pernambuco elites, thanks to their role in the sugar industry, claimed to be the architects of the restoration of Portuguese power and, therefore, deserving of the monarch's favor. The king, keen to strengthen his authority, was not always willing to oblige such desires (or, alternatively, he rejected them outright by supporting merchant groups, many of whom were from Portugal). Intermittent clashes of varying degrees occurred throughout this period, but they became particularly important during the Mascate War (Mello, 2003).

The difficulties which the sugar industry was then undergoing were also closely linked to this political situation. In the specific context of Pernambuco, the problems affected above all the colonial aristocracy, born in America and essentially made up of landholders and sugar-mill owners. Impoverished and ever more ruralized, this *nobreza da terra*, which had formerly built its apparatus of power through the institutions of a decadent Olinda, felt particularly wronged by the rise and the growing political, social and economic power of the *mascates* of Recife. To add to this, many factory owners were economically dependent on them, heavily indebted and continually obliged to turn to loans from those same merchants to finance their sugar production (Mello, 2003).

In this context, Rosário does not appear to take sides. Not explicitly, at least. This standpoint let him highlight to the monarch the role of his loyal vassals who had previously risked their lives and possessions in order to restore control over the sugar industry. As we have seen, this seems to be an allusion to the *nobreza da terra* which had taken part in the Dutch wars. But, at the same time, he makes significant criticisms of certain attitudes which he identified among those who were part of, or who wanted to become part of, the colonial nobility. In his conception of the nobility, Rosário sketched out a classical model defined on the basis of each subject's Christian virtues, on the works which showed his good qualities and on the merits which he gained from his actions —characteristics which were identified, respectively, with the sugar-apple or "count's fruit" [*fruta do conde*], the *areticuapé* and the managaba. Rosário yet again attributed a moral meaning to the first of these fruits, pointing out that the *manjar-*

like "rich substance" [*rica massa*] within it was indeed a representation of the "good substance" [*boa massa*] and the "good conscience" [*boa consciencia*] which should define the identity of a nobleman. Furthermore, it should serve as a guide to those who proudly defined themselves as *fidalgos* in the New World, who claimed that they would be the counts and marquises of Brazil if a formal, titled nobility existed (Rosário, 1702: 124-125).

Never diverting his focus from the Portuguese-American world, he criticizes those who considered themselves to be nobles because of what they *had* —land and riches— rather than what they *were*: those who, without illustrious blood and other markers of worth, had managed to penetrate the nobility with the help of others; those who were driven by passion and showed themselves to be bloodthirsty and vengeful, demonstrating that "they are not of pure and clean blood" [*não são de sangue puro, & limpo*] but of "mixed blood" [*sangues de mistura*]. He denounced those who, forgetting their origins —something which happened easily in the New World— made themselves out as *fidalgos*. They did not only live like *fidalgos*, wasting their income and their inheritance, but also occupied all sorts of posts and offices, making the land which they inhabited a "land of foreigners and the stepmother of natives" [*patria dos forasteyros, & madrasta dos naturaes*] (Rosário, 1702: 135-137). He also criticized the proliferation of a common method used to enter the nobility within the Portuguese Empire: the granting of the habit of the Order of Christ (Stumpf, 2014; Raminelli, 2015). Since the color of this habit was represented in the red of the Surinam cherry [*pitanga*], Rosário was keen to point out how quickly such a fruit could sate those who ate it, thus symbolizing how weary and disgusted people were at seeing so many "shamefully flaunted and much disparaged" habits [*tão mal predicados, & estimados*], in the hands of those who lacked merit and service (Rosário, 1702: 138-141).

Despite the criticisms which he launched against the colonial nobility and many of those who aspired to belong to it, Rosário adopted a generic tone in his discourse. It would be difficult to assert that the sugar-mill owners of Pernambuco were the ultimate and specific target of his invectives, although some of them probably felt as if they were. The defense of the sugar industry in Friar António do Rosário's text appears to seek neither the involvement of a specific body or concrete community within the world of Olinda and Recife, nor confrontation with them. It appears, rather, to be a defense of a Pernambuco in which, ultimately, both sugar-mill owners and *mascates* were involved in an industry which he saw as a base for the riches of a rapidly-changing Empire.

In reality, as we have seen, António do Rosário set his eyes upon a wider horizon throughout *Frutas do Brasil*, articulating a specific vision far beyond Pernambuco of the Braganza monarchy and the space which the Portuguese-American colonial world should occupy in it. His own experience of the Empire, after several years as a missionary in the Franciscan province of Santo António do Brasil, allowed him to consider Portuguese America in a new light, and to forge a different perception of Brazil in which the colony was depicted and proclaimed as the bedrock of the Portuguese Empire, a new India. To that end, he constructed a powerful allegorical discourse in which the nature of the New World was interpreted in a symbolic and emblematic way, allowing him to "read" the Portuguese-American world. In this reading, that world became a place of Edenic and providential significance in which everything that was brought over from other worlds —even devotion to the rosary— seemed to acquire a greater degree of excellence. In his rhetorical strategy, in fact, he made use of his extensive natural knowledge, knowledge about fruits in Portuguese America which had been accumulated since the beginning of European colonization, including by Franciscans. However, the explicitly moral metaphorical value taken on by the fruits he included corresponded to his specific conception of natural knowledge itself, a conception which was highly religious. Nature emerged in Brazil as a great book written by the hand of God, whose hidden spiritual meanings had to be decoded. In short, the text which António do Rosário published in 1702 is a revealing example of the intellectual density characteristic of the Franciscans in the Portuguese-American world and of Iberian imperial experiences more widely. It is a clear display of how the Franciscans, despite their lower profile in printing and writing than the Jesuits, did indeed develop a significant role in the development of the colonial world in the regions of Asia, Africa and America.

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NOTES

1 On academies and learned circles in eighteenth-century Portuguese America in general, see Kantor, 2004.

2 The text's composition reflects how mental prayer was diffused, from the end of the seventeenth century, among the Portuguese-American peoples who the missionaries targeted. It must also be noted that Portuguese Oratorians, and especially the Franciscans linked to the Varatojo Convent in Portugal, also made mental prayer a central part of their missionary activity during the same period, both in Portugal and in Cape Verde (Tavares, 2005).

3 The work went on to be published a second time, again in 8º, published in Lisbon by Filipe de Sousa Villela in 1717. A copy

of this edition is kept in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, [BNP], SA 2755 P.

4 Rosário's work had two nineteenth-century editions (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imperial de P. Plancher, 1828; and Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imperialde E. Seignot-Plancher, 1830). In both editions, the 1702 edition's preliminaries, as well the final index, were removed. A twentieth-century complete fac-simil edition is the Ana Hatherly's edition (Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 2002).

5 The printing press did not arrive in Portuguese America until the court arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1808. Before that, there had been just one (failed) attempt to set up a printing workshop in Rio, between 1747 and 1749, led by António Isidoro da Fonseca (Barros, 2012). We should also bear in mind the possible presence of presses and portable presses in missionary *aldeias*, as happened in Jesuit settlements in Paraguay (Neumann, 2015: 93-97; Veríssimo, 2011).

6 The Mascate War (1710-1711) was the last episode of the conflict which, in Pernambuco, pitted the so-called *nobreza da terra*, linked to the sugar industry and municipal power in Olinda, against the rising merchant classes who, having arrived from Portugal, had settled around Recife. These merchants, known pejoratively as "peddlers" (*mascates*), had their political aspirations recognized in 1710 when the Crown created municipal institutions in Recife, autonomous of the Olinda city council. Some of the *nobreza da terra* then began an uprising, which led to them seizing Recife and expelling the Governor —the representative of the monarch. The *mascates* responded with a military intervention (Mello, 2003).

7 A report sent to the *Conselho Ultramarino* in Lisbon in 1704 into the services offered by D. Francisco de Sousa between 1661 and 1704 revealed that he wanted to be promoted to specific military posts in Pernambuco, for which he was favored thanks to his status as a *fidalgo*. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Conselho Ultramarino, Cx. 21, d. 1968. I am grateful to Mafalda Soares da Cunha for providing me with the information contained in this document.

8 […] inventivas proveitosas nas virtudes, & invectivas curiosas contra os vicios.

9 He cites, among others, Saint Jerome, Saint Isidore, Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Bonaventure and Thomas à Kempis. He also refers to the odd classical author such as Seneca.

10 Cardim's manuscript treatises were taken from the Jesuit during a pirate attack in the Atlantic. They were later acquired by Samuel Purchas, who included them in the fourth volume of his *Pilgrimes* (London, Imprinted for H. Fetherston, 1625).

11 It must be remembered that, in the structure of Equinoctial France —that is, the colonizing efforts of the French in Maranhão between 1612 and 1616— the Capuchins Claude d'Abbeville and Yves d'Évreux wrote, respectively, the *Histoire de la mission des pères capucins* (Paris, 1614) and the *Suite de l'histoire des choses memorables* (Paris, 1615). Both texts included chapters containing relatively generic descriptions of the geography, fauna and flora of the region. On these two texts and the contexts in which they were produced, see Daher, 2002.

12 It is well known that Francis of Assisi and, after him, Bonaventure established a singular way to interact spiritually with nature, seeing in its elements God's image and presence, so that knowing them —that's to say, decoding the Creation— was understood as a way for spiritual rising and for approaching the Creator (Vauchez, 2009: 394-426). Their teachings, based on St. Augustine, were reflected in the intellectual output of several Franciscans linked to Oxford and Paris *Studia* during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as Robert Grosseteste, Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon, whose writings improved the use of an experimental —empirical— way for understanding natural reality. Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* largely circulated in Latin and French manuscript versions during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and had 32 editions between 1474 and 1536 (Lenhart, 1924). In the early sixteenth century, a spiritual text as Bernardino de Laredo's *Subida al Monte Sion* (Seville, 1522) reflected, through the body of Christ and the sufferings of his Passion, the physiological and pharmacological knowledge of its author, who also wrote —from a similar perspective— the *Metaphora Medicine et Cirurgie* (Seville, 1522) and *Modus cum ordine faciendi medicandi* (Seville, 1527) (Buffon, 2013: 361-367; Boon, 2012: 85-107).

13 In Eduardo França Paiva's view, this interpretation of Rosário's text as "the first separatist and nationalist manifesto", was implicit in Fernando Cristóvão's analysis of *Frutas do Brasil.* Cf. Paiva, 2006: 110. See also Cristóvão, 2001.

14 Notavel terra, notavel clima tem este Brasil; notaveis simpatias tem as flores, & frutas desta terra cõ a Paixão de Christo. O primeiro nome com que esta América foy bautizada dos seus descobridores, foy de Santa Cruz; a páos lançou a ambição o nome de Santa Cruz, chamandolhe Brasil, pelo pao Brasil; mais pelo interesse do lenho, que pela memoria da Cruz, se chama esta terra Brasil, & não Santa Cruz, como se chamava no principio, em que ainda não havia como hoje tanta cana, tanto sumo, & tanto pao Brasil, tanta cobiça, tanta frieza, & tanto peccado; oh como temo que com tantos sinaes da Sacratissima Payxão de Christo acabe este novo mundo com castigos, por se não aproveitar dos sinaes […]: tantos sinaes da Cruz, & da Payxão de Christo, se estao vendo nas flores, & frutas desta fatal tierra, que não será temeridade de juizo suspeitar, & recear castigos, & mais castigos […].

15 […] os frutos que são mais firmes, & constantes que as flores, he que levárão a benção; &as flores ficárão sem benção pela fragilidade, & inconstancia da sua natureza; & se os frutos são mais excellentes que as flores, mais abençoados de Deus, mais ditosos, & uteis que as flores; mais excellente he logo o Rosario em fruto, do que em flor.

16 The slave system —as it is well known— was at the basis of the Portuguese-American sugar industry. The religious orders were not outside the establishment of a slave society in Brazil, since they made use on slave labor in their plantations and sugar mills, and often were even directly involved in the slave trade. Concerning the position of the religious orders (especially, the Jesuits' position) regarding slavery, see, among others, Zeron, 2009.

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The Temporal Politics of Spiritual Conquest: History, Geography and Franciscan Orientalism in the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* of Friar Paulo da Trindade

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ABSTRACT: This article queries the relationship between imperial expansion, geographical knowledge and epistemic spatiality in Portuguese Asia. It proposes to disentangle these aspects by exploring the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* of Friar Paulo da Trindade, a Lusophone, Asian-born Franciscan writing in Goa in the 1630s. Trindade's chronicle provides disturbing insights into the difficult relationship between imperial expansion and the spatial organization of knowledge. Information about Asia and its peoples appears systematically detached from the spatial frameworks created by other authors and thrown into a panorama deeply reliant on spirituality and sacred history. Trindade's work suggests that there were strong political reasons for the Order of Saint Francis to embrace such a narrative. Whilst generalizations remain to be avoided, the shadow cast by the Jesuits over the Franciscan enterprise in the East played a key role in the adoption by the Seraphic order of a discursive strategy where time trumped space.

KEYWORDS: Portuguese Empire; Asia; writing culture; knowledge; space; cartography; social history of science.

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RESUMEN: *Las Políticas Temporales de la Conquista Espiritual: Historia, Geografía y Orientalismo Franciscano en la Conquista Espiritual do Oriente de Frei Paulo da Trindade*.- Este artículo se interroga acerca de la relación entre expansión ibérica, conocimiento geográfico y espacialidad epistémica en el Asia portuguesa. Se propone desentrañar estos tres aspectos mediante el análisis de la *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* que compuso en Goa, en torno a 1630, Fr. Paulo da Trindade, un franciscano de origen portugués nacido en Asia. La crónica de Trindade proporciona una mirada perturbadora sobre la difícil relación entre expansión imperial y organización espacial del saber. La información sobre Asia y sus gentes aparece sistemáticamente disociada de los marcos geográficos creados por otros autores y dibuja un panorama fuertemente impregnado de espiritualidad e historia sagrada. La obra de Trindade sugiere que hubo poderosas razones políticas que llevaron a la Orden de San Francisco a adoptar esa tipo de narrativa. Sin caer en generalizaciones, la sombra de los jesuitas sobre la empresa franciscana en Asia jugó un papel esencial en el recurso por parte de la Orden seráfica de una estrategia discursiva en la que el tiempo se impuso al espacio.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Imperio portugués; Asia; cultura escrita; conocimiento; espacio; cartografía; historia social de la ciencia.

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"*Andavam como arrebatados e bêbados de espírito*"
(Trindade, 1962, I: 213)

Conquest and cognition, most historians will agree, go hand in hand. Every conqueror is an explorer, and every explorer a conqueror. Spatial metaphors dominate our understanding of knowledge production, so much so that the histories of European expansion and science have become inextricably intertwined. Together, Empire and exploration stand not only at the heart of the grand narrative associating global modernity with the expansion of nations from Northwest Europe. They also dominate more critical narratives designed to bring back the Catholic Southwest into the picture. Iberianist critics of the Anglo-French master narrative may focus on a different period and a different place, but still generally emphasise how expansion and reorganisation in space through travel, trade and conquest were key for the expansion and reorganisation of knowledge (Cañizares-Esguerra, 2004; Navarro Brotons and Eamon, 2007; Almeida, 2011).

There is, in principle, not much to object to this. The evidence for an intertwinement of Empire and knowledge production is overwhelming (on particular sciences in the Portuguese Empire, ranging from cartography to botany and ethnology, see (Albuquerque, 1983; Horta, 1991; Randles, 2000; Rubiès, 2000; Leitão and Costa, 2008; Walker, 2010; Leitão and Alvarez, 2011; Biedermann, 2013; Gaspar, 2013; Leitão and Gaspar, 2014;). Yet there are some grey areas worthy of exploration. One of them regards the production of science in contexts dominated by religious faith. As Zur Shalev (2012) has shown, an innovation as crucial as the quantification and geometrisation of space —undoubtedly a key element in the development of early modern science by any measure (Woodward, 2007)— flourished not only in secularised settings, but also in connection with profound religious devotion. In close connection to this, another area of enquiry concerns the fact that the emergence of a 'new spatial consciousness' ('*nouvelle conscience spatiale*', Besse, 2005: 147), so central to early modern science and to our own understanding of early modernity as a whole, was neither linear nor irreversible. This seems relevant not only in terms of science history, but also to early modern studies in general, as it can be drawn upon to support a wider critical enquiry into the historiographical lumping together of 'Empire', 'conquest', 'science' and 'territorialization'. The latter is important because, as I have argued elsewhere, territoriality is not inherently and necessarily the central characteristic of Empire in general, and certainly not of the Portuguese Empire in particular (Biedermann, 2014b).

Over the following pages, I explore the devotional management of geographical and ethnographic knowledge by Franciscan friars in the East in the seventeenth century.[1] The way knowledge was handled in this particular discursive context, dominated by the idea of 'spiritual conquest', is not only fascinatingly idiosyncratic in itself; it is also quite possibly the single most accessible site for us to start querying the metaphor of knowledge expansion as it emerged from the Renaissance and continues to inform science history today. Whilst there can be little doubt that knowledge during the period tended to be systematized in ways that allowed for it to be mapped onto the new, mathematically describable surface of the globe, it also becomes important to acknowledge how a fundamentally different alternative remained available, and was in fact deployed with relative success by some. What we shall encounter are people who, in their quest to maintain a body of knowledge untouched by the innovations of the time, overtly defied precisely such things as the mathematisation of geographical space or the spatially structured systematization of ethnographic knowledge.

Naturally, there are some risks in embracing a branch of history that produced no palpable contributions to what we may still legitimately describe as the advancement of knowledge. One might in fact be tempted to say at this point that the exception —that is, the refusal, by some Franciscans, to play by the emerging rules of the new scientific discourse, allied with their emphasis on spiritual conquest— only proves the rule —that is, how important the mainstream links between secularisation, Empire and science really were. However, the texts under discussion had a considerable life of their own precisely at the time when the scientific revolution was taking off, and it would seem wrong simply to ignore them.

It could also be objected that Franciscan attitudes of denial were not consciously cultivated at all. This is not a problem in itself, since it would simply mean that we take a Foucaultian path of "reveal[ing] a *positive unconscious* of knowledge: a level that eludes the consciousness of the scientist and yet is part of scientific discourse" (Foucault, 2002: xi, original italics). Perhaps this is what science historians have had in mind all along when making statements about the Franciscans who, in Asia, "following their traditional orientation, concerned themselves especially with salvation and the advancement of medicine", this being in contrast of course with the Jesuits, generally held to be more inclined to mathematics, astronomy and cartography (Vogel, 2006: 829). However, the contention of this article is that the Franciscan attitudes under scrutiny were taken consciously and deliberately, and are best understood as sitting rather manifestly and explicitly on the surface of inter-institutional rivalries. An emphasis on social conflicts in studies of the early modern scientific field is not new. It has produced important results, for example, in the study of Spanish Renaissance cartography (Sandman, 2007), and deserves further development as Iberian imperial history itself increasingly emphasizes the role of factional strife in the making of overseas expansion.

The goal of the present enquiry is not to bring the neglected Franciscans 'up' to the level of the Ignatians, whose mathematical training, calculated rhetoric and writing culture, architectural mnemotechnic, and art of creating archives the friars probably never attained (Feingold, 2003). My aim here is quite simply to remind us of how the Franciscans, whilst less audible then the Jesuits in Portuguese Asia, were by no means silent. Ultimately, this study queries a particular, unduly neglected branch of

early modern knowledge production recently identified as 'Franciscan Orientalism' (Županov and Xavier, 2015: 158-201). It asks the question that necessarily arises from such a designation: what were the politics of Franciscan Orientalism in Portuguese Asia?

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE ORIENT ACCORDING TO FRIAR PAULO DA TRINDADE

Let us begin with the ominously titled *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* ("Spiritual Conquest of the Orient"), a 1200-folio chronicle on the Christianisation of Asia, written by the Franciscan friar Paulo da Trindade in Goa around 1630-36. The *Conquista Espiritual* has been largely underestimated as a piece of Portuguese imperial writing. Historians may occasionally consult this chronicle in search of information on Catholic missions or minor political and military events. Yet they typically ignore it, as they ignore other works of its kind, when considering the history of Portuguese knowledge production and the history of imperial literature as a whole. There are, to be sure, strong reasons for this to be the case. A text such as the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* bears all the hallmarks of a second-rate, largely derivative work based on other, more elaborate sources. As Félix Lopes, the editor of the only printed edition of Trindade's work, already pointed out, most of the geographical descriptions of the Orient are taken directly, and sometimes verbatim, from earlier Portuguese works (Trindade, 1962: I, 37, nº. 1). Amongst these, the most prominent with regard to geographical and ethnographic information are the *Décadas da Ásia* written by the Portuguese court humanist João de Barros (c.1496-1570) in the 1530s to 1550s, and their homonymous sequel produced some decades later in Goa by Diogo do Couto (c.1542-1616). Another important source was the *Etiópia Oriental* of friar João dos Santos (c.1570-c.1625), dating from the early years of the seventeenth century (Barros, 1988; Couto, 1947; Santos, 1999). Anyone might thus be forgiven for considering it more interesting to engage with those originals than with a rather artless, late and poorly written copy.

And yet the way Trindade filtered and structured the information contained in the better-known works of his predecessors is in itself deeply relevant. Five chapters placed relatively close to the beginning of book one of the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* are dedicated to the geography of the East (Trindade, 1962: I, 37-61). This would be, by the standards of the time, where we would expect the geographical stage to be set for the narration of the missionary activities that make up the bulk of the chronicle. A first chapter "[a]bout the great coast that extends from the Cape of Good Hope to China, and the nations, kingdoms, empires and provinces that in all those parts were discovered by the Portuguese" is followed by a chapter on the islands adjacent to the lands thus described, another on "the richest and most precious things produced in each of these lands of the Orient", and finally two chapters on the Portuguese possessions in the region.

But in what terms exactly is the stage set for the narration of spiritual conquest? The following excerpt is a good example of how the text proceeds:

> Starting from the Cape of Good Hope, which is at 34 degrees and a half of southern latitude, the first land that follows is the great *Ethiopia Oriental* […] In this *Ethiopia* the greatest kingdom is that of *Monomotapa*, which is over 200 leagues long and almost equally wide. The regalia that he [King Monomotapa] uses are, according to some authors, a golden hoe with a handle made of ivory, to signal that he cultivates the land, and two arrows manifesting the rigour of his justice […] The king has many wives, and the main wife is his sister […]
>
> [Then] come the three Arabias, namely *Petrea*, *Deserta* and *Felix*, where the bird Phoenix is said to be born, of which so many things have been written by authors such as Pliny in book X, chapter 2, Solinus in chapter 46, and others. There is only one such bird in the world, it is about the size of an eagle, and it lives for 660 years […] When the time comes for it to die, it flies to Syria where, after making a nest of aromatic wood which it collects for this purpose, it lies down on it and dies there, and of its marrow a little creature is born which becomes another bird Phoenix, and once its wings grow it flies to Arabia. It is all red, except its neck which is the colour of gold, and a tail that is purple and rose-coloured.
>
> Next to Arabia is the great Empire of Persia, the king of which is called *Sofi*, a name that bears great pre-eminence among those people because it is like among us the *emperador* […] When the Portuguese arrived in the Indies, the king of Persia was *Ismael Sofi*, who descended from *Mafamede* by the way of his daughter *Fátima* and who, being the youngest son of Sultan *Aidar*, king of *Ardevel* (who had fourteen sons and five daughters), became a great knight and great lord and king of all Persia, and so powerful that he dared to wage war on the Great Turc and other kings and lords […] (Trindade, 1962, I: 37-38)

This is, to say the least, a peculiar geographical introduction for a chronicle as grand as the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*. Perhaps it all comes down to a desire to keep the chapters short and easy to read. The division of the text suggests that maintaining a roughly equivalent length of five pages per chapter played a role in the organisation of parts of the work. It may certainly also be said that writing an accurate geography of the East was not a primary objective for Trindade, who could refer his readers to other authors instead. Yet the way the text has been put together from fragments gleaned in the much more systematic and detailed works of Barros, Couto and Santos remains remarkable.

At first, some evident similarities might suggest a common goal. As João de Barros a century earlier, Trindade proceeds in his general overview from West to East, advancing along the coastlines of East Africa and Maritime Asia to give descriptions of the main polities and regions extending inland. As the author of the *Decades of Asia*, the author of the *Spiritual Conquest of the Orient* gives some geographical coordinates. It could even be argued that the text makes most sense if read with a picto-

rial outline of Africa and Asia in mind, however vague that may have been for readers (we simply do not know to what extent cartographical innovations produced by the Portuguese were absorbed by the wider readership). In other words, the reference to a latitude of 34 and a half degrees might easily be mistaken for an emulation of the method advocated by Barros and, with him, most great Renaissance geographers and cosmographers: a method based on the homogenisation of global space through geometrisation, the subjection of the earth's surface to the universal power of the Ptolemaic grid (Besse, 2003; on Barros see Biedermann, 2004 and in press).

And yet the extraordinarily powerful, systematically construed and detailed textual cartography produced by Barros, a veritable tour de force creating a vigorously structured map-like image in the mind of the reader, has been watered down to little more than a sketch. In fact, the very method that guided Barros —his effort to emulate a Ptolemaic logic going from the universal to the particular (that is, from cosmography through chorography to topography) and impose it on each and every place described— has been largely abandoned. The systematic invocation of the cartographical grid championed by Ptolemy and reintroduced to mapping from the fifteenth century, central to Barros's endeavour of creating cartographical descriptions through words, is mostly gone. To be sure, its vestiges do appear here and there in measurements and degrees of latitude, such as those already mentioned for the Cape and the kingdom of Monomotapa. But Trindade shows little interest in the method underlying such data, that is, the neo-Ptolemaic order associating each thing on the globe with a mathematically describable position on the grid.

This is not to say that the description does not present some characteristics of the geographical writing culture that had, by Trindade's time, been flourishing for over a century in the Ibero-Italian world (cf. Olivari, 2002; Padrón, 2007; Safier and Santos, 2007). The central passages of chapter 1 in particular, dedicated to India and parts of Southeast Asia, do contain significant amounts of geographical information, including various measurements and some reminiscences of Barros's cartographic writing technique. For example, the text does give an account of the Bay of Bengal that is visually fairly evocative:

> After the Cape [Cape Comorin] the coast begins to rise again towards the North up to the estuary of the River Ganges, forming a great arch called *Seio Gangetico* [i.e. *Sinus Gangeticus*] or Bay of Bengal, [then] it descends again towards the South until another famous cape […] named *Singapura*, where the city of Malacca is situated […] From Cape Comorin […] to the deepest point of this bay […] the distance is around four hundred and ten leagues, divided into three states [namely Vijayanagara, Orisha, and Bengal] […] (Trindade, 1962, I: 39).

Overall, though, this kind of information has lost much of the power that it had in other works. In this particular passage for example, Trindade returns very quickly to the amalgamation of *varia* that he favours:

> In the kingdom of Bengal the River Ganges, so celebrated by the [classical] authors, flows into the ocean sea through two mouths about eighty leagues distant from each other. This river is one of the [most] famous in the world, it carries much water, and is considered by many to be coming from Scythia, whilst other [authors have it that] it comes from the Earthly Paradise, being one of the four rivers mentioned by the Holy Scripture, called Pishon, as is the judgment of Eusebius and St. Hieronymus […] The *gentios*, blind in their reasoning and lacking the light of the true Faith, hold its waters to be so holy that they believe they will go straight to the heavens if they wash themselves therein […] Solinus in his *Polyhistor* states that the people living along this river feed on the fragrance of flowers […] But our Portuguese [travellers], who have been to all those parts, have not found any notice of this marvel [*maravilha*] which, if it is true — which it does not seem to be— is certainly quite extraordinary and strange (Trindade, 1962: I, 39-40).

Trindade, like everyone else at the time, has supplemented the geographical data with various references to classical authors. His general outline of the East is interspersed with what may at first sight appear as signs of respect for the formalities of erudite geographical writing. But here again, it is all significantly more fragmentary and haphazard than in any of the major reference works. Like the latitudes and other measurements strewn across Asia somewhat indiscriminately as remainders of a mathematical principle discarded by the author, the occasional pointing to Pliny or Solinus is not much more than a half-hearted allusion to the writing practices of others. In fact, Trindade gives a selection that will strike the modern reader as bizarrely arbitrary: a king's gilded insignia and sexual habits in one region, a mythical bird in the next, a sultan's fourteen sons and a people living on the fragrance of flowers in yet another region, and so on.

The problem here is not selectivity in itself. Even the most comprehensive map or text offers a selection of data following a political agenda (Harley, 1988). What is striking is the apparent randomness of what has been retained, and its corrosive effect on the spatial order of the world and its textual representation. Systematic selections as those of Barros and many other authors of the period would typically follow a scheme, a list of questions, a set of criteria applied more or less rigorously to all regions described. Geographers and ethnographers attempted to offer their readership information about certain *kinds* of things, and laid it out in a way that was systematically relatable to geographical space. By the latter I mean that Barros, for example, followed a logically structured list of topics (comparable to, say, the list of topics used by Sebastian Münster) within each of the regions described. It was the era of classificatory pioneering *and* cartographic revolution after all, and in both areas the Portuguese played an important role (Biedermann, 2013). Yet Trindade's only guiding principle seems to have been to give one or two curious occurrences for each kingdom or region.

Crucially, these occurrences are of various different *kinds* if considered by the standards of the more rigorous taxonomies then in the making. One is compelled to think

of the famous opening in Foucault's *The Order of Things*, with its rambling quote gleaned from an imaginary "Chinese encyclopaedia" made up by Borges. Animals, it is there said, can be divided into the following categories:

> (a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) et cetera, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies (Foucault, 2002: xvi).

The striking aspect is not so much the rhetoric and aesthetic function of *mirabilia* in a changing world — what, in the footsteps of Greenblatt, Pramod Nayar has described for a context closer to ours as "an explanatory and exploratory aesthetic that enabled the traveler to discover, wonder at, organize and define, and ultimately explain (away) India's newness" (Greenblatt, 1991; Nayar, 2005: 214). Nor is it the intellectual curiosity that such things may elicit and the way they may draw attention to various, more or less distant corners of the globe (Daston and Park, 1998). We are, with Trindade, much deeper in the structures of religiously guided representational practice than the presence of the marvellous might suggest to the fleeting observer. At stake here is rather the autonomous power of those marvels when interconnected and, as a collective, allowed to shine more brightly than the surface upon which they sit. As Foucault pointed out with regard to the Chinese encyclopaedia, "what transgresses the boundaries of all imagination, of all possible thought, is simply that alphabetical series (a, b, c, d) which links each of those categories to all the others"; or, in other words, the very "possibility of juxtaposition" when such different things are involved (Foucault, 2002: xvii).

Whilst in Trindade there is no alphabetical, nor any other sort of explicit signposting other than the belonging to a certain region, the juxtaposition of kings, mythical birds and other sorts of curiosities across a vast, recently "discovered" space is a powerful one. Indeed, I would argue that it is powerful enough to impose its own logic over that of the already feeble geographical organisation underlying it. The sheer force that attracts these things to each other is such that geographical space —as opposed to the mere places where each of those things happen to exist— ceases being the independent, fundamentally constitutive entity that the leading scholars of the time considered it to be. To remain for a final instant with Foucault, one wonders where such disparate things could ever meet, "except in the immaterial sound of the voice pronouncing their enumeration, or on the page transcribing it? Where else could they be juxtaposed except in the non-place of language?" (Foucault, 2002: xvi-xvii)

The absolute non-place of language would, of course, be the divine *logos* as it existed before the creation of everything else. It does not and probably cannot come in a pure state even in a sacralised geography such as that of Trindade. But it can be made to breathe through a text. The two crucial points with regard to the *Conquista Espiritual* are: firstly, the textual structure allowing for the geometrisation of terrestrial space —i.e. the creation of a neo-Ptolemaic cosmography along the lines proposed by sixteenth-century authors— has been destabilised. It is there, but its deficiencies are too many for us to ignore. Secondly, a disparate series of curiosities has been imposed upon this dissolving space and allowed to take control over the narrative as a whole. Thus the possibility of a methodical, man-made intersection between language and space is reduced. A series of utterly heteroclite things are "laid" or "placed" in sites ultimately so different from each other —despite their apparent contiguity on the map— that the notion of a homogenous, mathematically describable terrestrial space begins to melt away. If the question of "where" is asked at all, it is resolved by pointing to an uneven kind of space heavily contorted by a succession of very different places. What unifies this space is the marvellous variety of divine creation rather than a single, unified, global geometrical principle. From the intellectual world of Euclid and Ptolemy, we are being taken again to that of the makers of Medieval world maps (Woodward, 1985; Scafi, 2006), images, that is, where space was neither homogenous, nor isotropic, nor cosynchronous as Renaissance cartographers wished it to be (Woodward, 2007: 12-13).

But why? Before we attempt to draft a response, let us ascertain that the question as such is relevant indeed, and that the problem at stake represents more than an isolated slippage in Trindade's text.

IDOLATRY AND THE NON-MAP OF THE BODY APOCALYPTIC

As the brief but brutal reference to the blindness of the Gentiles (*gentios*, non-Christians other than Muslims, that is, people ignorant of the true faith but likely to embrace it once given the chance) leaves clear from the onset, Trindade is not the kind of author who may attempt any sort of *understanding* of religious otherness. His ethnography will necessarily have to be one of an aggressively judgmental kind.

From the fragile geography to the robustly moralistic ethnography of Trindade, the transition relies on the rhetoric of divine creation. Upon the two chapters dedicated to sketching out the mainland and the islands of the Orient, follows a chapter about the riches that God has created for the people there. The central message of this chapter is explicitly a moral one. Having though been given everything by the creator, the people of the East fail to recognise how much gratitude they owe Him:

> He who considers the many riches and precious things that the author of nature, God our Lord, has with such generosity distributed along with the lands of the Orient, will not be able not to wonder at how poorly the people of the Orient reward their own Creator in return for all the good things they have received from Him, for we see that, instead of knowing Him and receiving His Faith and keeping His law, they live so far removed from all this that they do not even seem to have the light

> of reason, except for their adoration of the first Cause, which they bestow upon pieces of stone and of wood and, even worse than that, to the demon himself; for the Orient is like a seminary of all the diabolic superstitions and idolatries of the world, and it seems indeed that there is a competition between the goodness of God and the wickedness of men, because the more He devotes Himself to doing good things for them, the more they excel at offending Him […] (Trindade, 1962, I: 47).

The geography of the riches of the Orient is, then, essentially a geography where the marvellous indicates moral depravity. It is a twofold source of *maravilha* for the Christian observer, who will marvel at the diversity of things created by God and at the ingratitude He receives in return. In East Africa, for example, God has created many gold and silver mines. In the woods of a certain island off Cape Delgado, in the North of what is today Mozambique, there is much *maná* or *mauna*, which

> is excellent for purging [the body] and is produced by the dew of the sky when it falls upon certain trees that exist [in that island], which are the only ones on the trunks, branches and leaves of which this dew curdles, and once it has curdled it becomes like candy sugar, sticking to the branches in the manner of a resin, and when hanging from the leaves it has the appearance of pearls (Trindade, 1962, I: 48, based on Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, fol. 40).

And yet the peoples of the region are all, as we shall see further expounded below, in the hands of the devil. This fundamental fact throws a rather uncanny light on the way Trindade lists the most noteworthy features of Oriental geography. Such lists may remind the reader of earlier mercantile geographies of the East starting with Tomé Pires's *Suma Oriental* (Pires, 1944) or, again, the economic information woven into the geographical passages of Barros's *Décadas da Ásia*. But the way space and marvel are here interwoven takes on a very different character.

Persia produces carpets and fruits, the kingdom of Cambay many kinds of cotton textiles (the sheer succession of names reveals astounding plenty: "*beatilhas*, *canequins*, *bofetás*, *cachas*, *beirames*, *cotonias*, and others of this sort"), the Deccan has diamonds, Ceylon is filled with cinnamon, Bengal abounds in cotton again, Siam yields precious stones, Borneo camphor, and the Moluccas cloves. The geographical order becomes increasingly haphazard though as the text ventures eastwards: upon the Fishery Coast follows Bengal and then the Coromandel Coast, and after Siam come Sunda, Timor, Borneo, Ryukyu, Vijayanagara, the Moluccas, Cochinchina, Malacca, and finally China. China is, perhaps inevitably at the time, the place where it all culminates with a prodigious accumulation of natural riches combining everything that elsewhere comes only in parts (Trindade, 1962, I: 50).

One is here strongly reminded of the moral judgments built around the topos of plenty in early modern English accounts of India, particularly by authors interested in natural resources. Pramod Nayar (2005) has argued that British engagement with Indian plenty went through three phases, or rhetoric moments: first, a pleasurable topography of plenty; second, a realisation of excess; and third, an explanation of India's landscape in moral terms, ultimately preparing the ground for conquest and colonisation. The most striking feature of Trindade's (de-)moralised geography is not its precociousness with regard to the bulk of English writing. After all, the topos of plenty was not a Portuguese invention, but rather a very old theme in European representations of the East (Campbell, 1988: 109). The truly remarkable aspect is how the three analytical moments exposed by Nayar have been compressed in a single argument by Trindade.

Temporal conquest, Trindade acknowledges implicitly, may have resulted from the lure of Asian riches. For this, he quickly adds, the Portuguese should not be blamed. Not only because it has cost them much blood, money and physical effort to discover, explore and take over lands in the East, but mainly because extreme plenty and beauty constitute *per se* a just cause of war. The explanation is somewhat unorthodox and based on an unconventional translation of a passage from the Book of Judith, but it is given without hesitations:

> And hence what can be said of India and of the Portuguese is the same that was said by Holofernes's soldiers when, having besieged the city of Bethulia, they saw the beautiful Judith […]: 'Who would despise this people, that have among them such women? And who would condemn us for taking up arms against them for this cause?' '*Quis contemnat populum hebraeorum, qui tam decoras mulieres habent, ut non pro his merito pugnare contra eos debeamus* (Trindade, 1962, I: 51).[2]

The second sentence of the biblical quote (from Judith, 10:18) is usually translated in the sense that the Assyrians did *not* wish to proceed with the siege, given the beauty of the women of Israel. Here, instead, the sense is inverted to suggest that a land as beautiful and plentiful as India had inevitably to become an object of desire. The Portuguese engaged in its temporal conquest quite simply because they were the first Europeans to arrive.

Then, however, comes the clerical comment that one would expect in addition to such an overt vindication of physical violence: "[they were] moved to engage in this difficult conquest, not so much on grounds of their greed for the things [of India], as of their zeal to convert its people and desire to extend the boundaries of the Christian religion" (Trindade, 1962: I, 51).

For this is what temporal conquest by good Christians can only justifiably be about: something intertwined with spiritual conquest. In the Orient the Portuguese have "conquered many lands", but the statement can only make full sense once the author adds with the help of the conjunction "and" (expressing the connection with effortless self-evidence) that "the preachers of the Holy Gospel have through their preaching won many souls" (Trindade, 1962: 51). Note how the verb in the first case is *conquistar* (to conquer), and in the second *ganhar* (to win

over). Two entire chapters ensue after this passage, giving a general outline of the Portuguese military conquests in the East. The chronicle as a whole then expounds the religious deeds of the Franciscans. Needless to say, any reader at the time would have been acutely aware that the only preachers to have been present during the temporal conquest from the very beginning, as Portuguese fleets began to roam the waters beyond the Cape, were members of the Seraphic order. We shall return to this point further below.

Perhaps the most spectacular piece of ethnographic writing and ranting produced by Trindade concerns the general nature of idolatry in the Orient. It comes along as chapter 16 of book one, is about five pages long, and carries the ominous title of "How rich, esteemed and venerated the true soldiers of Christ, the Fratres Minores, found idolatry to be in India, and how they triumphed over it." The triumph is, obviously, the story told by the chronicle as a whole, so it is here only briefly summarised. What much of the chapter expounds is the perverse abundance of all things idolatrous. That the adjective "rich" should here be the first in the title certainly establishes a solid bridge with the previous considerations about Asia's natural resources. But in its vehemence, the chapter on idolatry goes far beyond.

Again, Trindade had a chance to follow other authors for his critique of Oriental religious culture. He could have opted for a description where, after establishing a rigorously structured geographical outline, it would have been possible for him and the reader to explore one by one the various religious systems of each of the countries concerned. There was by this time more than enough material to attack religious culture in India, Southeast Asia, China and naturally the Middle East one after another, and build a strong comparative case for Christianisation in each of these regions. But again, Trindade was not interested in engaging with the world beyond the Cape through a systematic combination of geography and chorography or regional study. His map of idolatry was to be dramatically different from those produced by others. In fact, it was to be a "figure" bearing all the hallmarks of being precisely *not* a map:

> When I set out to consider the great veneration in which in these Oriental parts idolatry was held —the greatness of its riches, the numerousness of its temples, the pomp of its festivities, the dear cost of its sacrifices, and finally the nobility of its servants— its comes to me represented in the figure of that meretricious woman that the apostle St. John saw in his Apocalypse, sitting on a red beast with seven heads and ten tails […], adorned with precious jewels of gold, pearls, and precious stones; of whom he also says that she held in her hand a cup full of abominations and filth, and on her forehead she had a label saying "mystery" (Trindade, 1962, I: 82).

The non-map of Oriental idolatry is based on the body of St. John's apocalyptic woman. It has, as Trindade himself suggests by using a range of different nouns, visual qualities and is certainly an object for "consideration" in a sense sitting close to "contemplation." But it is not the kind of surface upon which a Renaissance mapmaker would have laid out the countries of the earth (nor indeed anything less material such as concepts or emotions). It is referred to successively as a representation, a figure, an *estampa* (usually indicating a print), and a hieroglyph. If it were a painting, it would be an allegory, the elaborate body of the apocalyptic woman shining with her gilded paraphernalia against a dark, pitilessly un-perspectival background of moral misery. This figure needs no geometrically construed space to rule vast parts of the world. The deception through which it holds a large part of mankind to ransom does not have the spatial pictorial qualities of a Renaissance painting. It is a dismal Baroque *chiaroscuro* from the deep folds of which emerges one barbarous idolatrous practice after the other, an infernal, perennial source of evil that dazzles the benighted peoples of the Orient in tones of silver and gold (cf. Alpers, 1983; Jay, 1988).

The figure carries a name ("*Babylonia*, which means confusion") and calls for an interpretative contemplation, an exercise in deciphering the various signs of its diabolic nature. The latter are visible as such to the eye of the true believer, who will thus also be able to grasp the full extent of the devil's creation. Indeed even the "barbaric gentiles" themselves may not always be fooled, although they will not see the full picture until they convert. At one point Trindade sustains that their worship is not based on an assumption of divinity at all, but merely on their fear of the devil, whom they recognise as "evil and perverse" and whom they hope to "placate and appease" with their deeds (Trindade, 1962: I, 82-83)

Here is, then, how this vast body of idolatrous practices and beliefs is to be read. The seven heads of the apocalyptic woman stand for the many idolatrous kings of those parts. The cup filled with filth is

> the vile doctrine of many different sects that exist across this gentility, and the false theology of their vain gods, accompanied by many rites, ceremonies, diabolic sacrifices and witchcraft that their infernal books teach to them, some of which are read in public universities, which the kings support with vast endowments (Trindade, 1962, I: 83)

As even Trindade had to admit, there was a problem in understanding how such terrible abominations could appeal to the aesthetic sense of people anywhere. Hence the argument that the devil made his teachings more appealing by giving them a pleasant form —pleasant, at least, to the ears of Asians, given that the plenty involved is again of dubious value to the mind and the senses of the true believer. The form by which the false doctrine is made palatable is the verse, and more specifically the "very sonorous verses to which these people are very inclined and by which they delight themselves very much." The adjective "sonorous" (*sonoro*, an ambiguous choice suspended semantically between "loud" and "reverberant") comes supplemented two lines below with the

words "*mui suaves*" and "*melodia*", indicating a certain sweetness and melodiousness pleasant even to the outside listener —a relatively rare occurrence at a time when, in general, Asian music was much less appreciated by European observers than Asian visual arts and crafts. The point is that whoever recites the false doctrine in such a manner will have their senses "entertained by the suavity of the verses and the melodiousness of the singing" and will thus fail to recognize how he or she has fallen prey to demonic forces. This, again, equals the functioning of the cup in the hand of the apocalyptic woman. As Trindade reminds the reader, that symbol had been rightly interpreted by Saint Ambrosius as illustrating how a splendorous form can momentarily outshine vile content: "since the drink, made of abominations and filth, could please no-one, at least the beauty of the gold in which it came covered would" (Trindade, 1962, I: 83).

And thus the symbolic reading proceeds. As the apocalyptic woman has the word "mystery" ("*mistério*") written on her forehead, "which means the same as secret" or "secrecy" ("*segredo*"), those professing the diabolic doctrines in the Orient do all they can to maintain a grip on their sacred scriptures. Idolatrous knowledge is to be transmitted only in a very controlled and limited manner by people such as the Brahmins —a rather curious critique in the argument of a seventeenth-century Catholic, for whom the Christian doctrine would always and very emphatically have to be filtered through the various layers of the Roman Church before it reached any lay person. Finally, Trindade comes back to the topos of plenty again, expounding that the richness of the apocalyptic woman's dress and jewellery stands for the richness of the temples, festivities and priesthood of idolatry.

Having given these preliminaries, Trindade is in a position to delve into each of his three themes (temples, festivals, priests) separately, following a thematic organisation void of any geographical structure. A first section is dedicated to the riches controlled by the "pagodas", that is, any form of temple or statue where a false god created by the devil is worshipped. This is dramatically a matter of numbers, of telling how many temples receive how much money for their functioning. In the kingdom of Vijayanagara alone —a somewhat disconcerting polity to appear so prominently in a text written six decades after its demise— there are sixty-four temples receiving sixty thousand gold coins a year. This monstrous amount of money is not further explained, that is, no exchange rate is given (it equalled about 300,000 Portuguese *cruzados*, a vast sum of money). What is, however, prominent is that each of these *pagodas* receives its grant in thousands of gold coins also called *pagodas*. The proximity of the two meanings of the same word certainly suggests an overlap, a diabolic stratagem to confound and to blur the boundaries between religion and commerce. There are also, inevitably, thousands of temple dancers (*bailadeiras*), whom Trindade describes as prostitutes sustaining the temples with the revenues of their disgraceful trade (Trindade, 1962, I: 84).

QUANTIFYING IDOLATRY: THE DEVIL IS IN THE FIGURES

If the mathematisation of geographical space was no priority for Trindade, the quantification of idolatry was —not so much in the preliminary section of the text, where the emphasis is on abstract notions of plenty, but certainly in the subsequent sections dedicated to concrete riches. Along with the *bailadeiras* we learn of the abundant resources given to the many "idols", that is, statues of false gods. One temple alone in the city of *Angor* in Cambodia is given as having nine cloisters and containing twelve idols made of massive gold, some the size of a ten year old child. Once, Trindade narrates, a gold idol was captured by Vasco da Gama on a Moorish ship near Calicut —again, an interesting conflation of idolatry and trade— weighing about thirty *arráteis* (roughly fifteen kilograms). It had two large emeralds in the place of its eyes, was covered in a richly decorated mantle of gold and precious stones, and carried a ruby on its chest the size of a *cruzado* coin (Trindade, 1962, I: 84) —yet another crossing of boundaries between idolatry and trade, though here with a premonition of Christianity, since the *cruzado* was a coin bearing the Portuguese royal coat of arms on one side, and on the other the cross of the Order of Christ surrounded by the words *In Hoc Signo Vinces*.

The next section is dedicated to the great number and the sumptuousness of the temples containing such images. Here, too, numbers are key. They do not serve to geometrise space, but to offer a picture of diabolic plenty. In a place on the Malabar Coast, a single league of land (that is, an area of perhaps twenty or thirty square kilometres) is said to support over 140 temples. In Japan, one temple alone holds 1,500 gold statues distributed over nine terraces lit by uncountable lamps made of silver and gold. Adjacent to a temple on the Coromandel Coast, the building alone where cattle was supposedly assembled to be sacrificed (*sic*) was made of 700 marble columns larger than any ever seen in Spain or Portugal (Trindade, 1962, I: 84).

Even when such things could be given a precise number, they are always close to slipping into the domain of the inscrutable. They can then either not be counted at all ("*não têm conto*"), or their sheer size is out of bounds. An idol statue in Japan is said to be of such an unreasonable and utterly disproportionate size ("*descompassada grandeza*") that a pigeon sitting on its head would appear as a little bird to the observer on the ground. This is interesting, incidentally, because it creates a steep gaze from below, a very rare occurrence in European geographic accounts and travel books of the time, and certainly something to bear in mind for our conclusions below (Trindade, 1962, I: 84).

Finally, Trindade dwells on the sumptuousness of the festivities. The juggernaut festival is inevitably there to send a shiver down the reader's spine with its carts carrying hundreds of people and cutting devotees into pieces on the ground. The main festival at *Tremel* in the South of India is said to attract a staggering four million people from all over the Orient —twice the entire population of

Portugal— and, among them, three to four hundred thousand equestrians (Trindade, 1962: 85). But the keystone of the edifice of Asian idolatry are the Brahmins, "one of the noblest castes of India", who claim descent from the god *Bramá* and maintain even the most powerful secular lords under their sway (Trindade, 1962, I: 86).

FRANCISCANISM AND THE NON-SPATIAL NATURE OF SPIRITUAL CONQUEST

This is where the attentive reader will be realizing, at the latest, what Trindade's panorama is all about: whilst subjecting Asian kings by means of arms is one thing, fighting idolatry and its powerful priests is a completely different, significantly more challenging matter. It is, of course, what the Franciscans have been asked to accomplish and, in their own view, put into practice with success. For as the "fornicating woman of the Apocalypse […] has been defeated, stripped of her riches and handed over to the flames […] so the Oriental idolatry […] could not be protected by the kings" and was "defeated by that which can achieve anything, that is the true Faith of Jesus Christ Our Saviour, preached by the *religiosos*, in particular those of our Seraphic Religion." It was they who, "armed with celestial arms and fortified by the divine grace […] took to the battlefield as true soldiers of Christ" and destroyed the diabolic inventions seen by Saint John. They waged "crude war" upon idolatry to strip her of her clothes, destroy her temples, forbid her festivals, and so on. All this, not for the sake of triumph in itself, but to liberate "thousands of souls" from her power and, through baptism, show them the light of hope that would lead them out of the darkness of the previous age (Trindade, 1962, I: 86-87).

Who, upon considering such mesmerizing glories, would wish to map them onto a flat and flavourless, mathematically construed planisphere, a modern map showing the divine *orbis terrarum* on a plain surface dominated by an abstract geometrical grid? The stage for Franciscan conquest is the world as a whole, their mission a conquest undertaken in the name of God. In fact, it is even more than that: it is the Lord's own undertaking in the world He has created, and it must not be bogged down in the realities of geography, be they material (the territories of Asian kings) or ideational (the Euclidean grid). God' generosity is endless, His goodness has no bounds. He

> closes His eyes to all this ingratitude, and has been pleased to bestow upon them [the people of the Orient] such mercy as if they had obliged Him by much devotion, sending them from such distant lands [i.e. Portugal] the knowledge of the Faith and preachers of His Holy Gospel, upon which many have converted and received baptism, so that today already one can see among these barbarians very clearly the knowledge of the true God, even among those who out of their great obstinacy do not wish to fully reap its benefits. (Trindade, 1962, I: 47).

In fact, we can now start to fully grasp the subaltern nature of the role played by geography and cosmography in the entire text. At the beginning of the chronicle, Trindade had expressed already the thought that:

> Since we will deal with the many souls that in various kingdoms have been won for God Our Lord by the Fratres Minores through the preaching of the Holy Gospel in this Spiritual Conquest of the Orient, it shall not be devoid of purpose for us to give a brief and summary notice of the many provinces, kingdoms and empires that were found by the Portuguese.

This is how geography can help support the narrative of Franciscan glory: not by laying out the exact shapes and sizes of lands on the paper, nor by expounding with precision and system the territories that the friars would then conquer in the name of the Lord, but simply by offering an unquestionable, God-given place in which the greatest of all battles would occur and the forces of the devil defeated.

This applies not only to Asia as a whole but also to certain regions in particular, and most spectacularly to the island of Sri Lanka, where the Franciscans enjoyed a missionary monopoly during the sixteenth century. As I have argued elsewhere, the precedence of history over geography permeates and shapes the more than 250 pages dedicated by Trindade to *Ceilão* (Biedermann, 2014). Time and again, the reader is promised information on space only to be pulled straight back into the depths of time. Chapter 1 of book III, for example, titled "*Da Formosa ilha de Ceilão e de algumas grandezas suas*", has a brief description of Sri Lanka lifted (but significantly shortened) from Barros. It mentions the island's position near the southern tip of India, its oval shape, its overall orientation and its latitudinal position (Trindade, 1962, III: 3 based on Barros, 1988, III: fols. 25-28). However, this is not the information with which Trindade opens his text, nor does it have by any means a dominant position. The first and principal aspect the reader is confronted with is rather this:

> One of the most famous islands in this Orient is *Ceilão*, which deserves a very particular place in this our history, not so much because of the notable things with which nature has adorned it, but rather because of the singular services that were there performed to God and to the Crown of Portugal by the friars of Saint Francis, because they were the first preachers of the Gospel there […] irrigating with their blood the new plants they planted, converting with their doctrine many thousands of its natives, including many princes and people of royal blood, one of whom was Dom João Párea Pandar [Dharmapala], king of *Cota* [Kotte] and grandson of the emperor of the entire island, who through the teaching of our friars received the holy baptism and, upon his death, not having an heir, left his kingdom and the right [to imperial overlordship] that he had over the entire island to the Crown of Portugal, following the advice of those same friars (Trindade, 1962, III: 3).

Everything, including the Portuguese Crown's right to conquer Sri Lanka on grounds of the testament of King

Dharmapala (r.1557-97) signed in Colombo in 1580, results from the historical depth of the Franciscan presence and from the blood shed by the friars in the island. None of the historical transformations referred occurs *on the ground of* an autonomous, pre-existing, geographically describable space. It is not history that takes place in Ceylon, but Ceylon that takes a place in (Trindade's) history. Space, if granted any importance at all, emerges from the depths of time. This is the case here and in a number of other passages (Trindade, 1962, III: 4-15).[3]

To Trindade, what matters are the people and their experience of the sacred. Space only matters in relation to time. The grid we are given to observe is not built upon latitudes and longitudes. As Douglas Kelly put it in a commentary on Medieval Franciscan thought better left untranslated, "le temps s'intègre aux lieux de manière inextricable […] le lieu et le temps —*hic et nunc*— forment une grille" (Kelly, 1988: 126). This *grille*, a metaphorical grid combining space and time, was precisely what Renaissance cartographers abhorred. It may be worth reminding ourselves at this point about the way geographical maps, and *mappae mundi* in particular, functioned before the reintroduction to the Catholic West of the universal Ptolemaic grid.[4] The makers of Medieval world maps had been keen to produce an "image of a world defined by theology, not geography, where place is to be understood through faith rather than location, and the passage of time according to biblical events is more important than the depiction of territorial space" (Brotton, 2012: 89). In the words of David Woodward, most world maps made before the mid-1400s are best understood "as teaching rather than locational devices", and "they relied on mystical, symbolic, and allegorical imagery to a remarkable extent" (Woodward, 1985: 515).

They were "moralized, didactic displays" and it makes sense —with due care not to oversimplify things— to see them in connection with a deeper mistrust towards the realities of the physical world, going back to the early centuries of Christianity. In contrast with early Judaism, Christians had come to show relatively "little interest —with some important exceptions— in the exact location of even their most sacred events" (Woodward, 1985: 514 based on North, 1979: 76). Early Christian philosophers had emphasised that "knowledge of information about the earth was of strictly secondary importance to the Christian, whose mind should be on a higher plane" (Woodward, 1985: 515). When Petrarch, on an April afternoon in 1336, looked around from the top of the Mont Ventoux and chose to sit down and flip open his pocket Augustine, his eyes famously fell upon a quote urging him not to be carried away by what he saw around him, and rather concentrate on what remained within (Petrarch, 1990: 41). As he stood on that ridge —or quite possibly much later, when he finished writing his account— the poet sensed that he was at a crossroads in the history of the time-space relationship, and may not have been quite sure about what would come next. In the sixteenth century, the Jesuits learned to harness the power of knowledge pertaining to the physical world, and in particular to the way the world was being mapped to emulate the Ptolemaic ideal. They embraced the view from above and the power of textual mapping, and put it to the service of religion. But their project did not go uncontested.

What Trindade reminded his readership of was that crucial moment when any human being or organisation can choose between one thing or the other: engage in the physical world or focus on the spiritual. A more conciliatory, intermediate stance was out of the question. The Jesuits may have styled themselves as a militia of God and laid out with spectacular textual, scientific and visual skill the territories they wished to conquer. But the only 'true soldiers of Christ', the ones understanding that the *orbis terrarum* was a matter of faith, not space, were to Trindade the followers of Saint Francis. If, as Frank Lestringant has observed with regard to Renaissance geography, "space is a form of thought" and "the problem is not to think about space [because] it is space itself that thinks" (Lestringant, 2002: 30); then we may wish to say about Trindade that he aimed to think *through* time or, indeed, allow time itself to do the thinking and talking.

ORDERLY BATTLES: THE POLITICS OF SPIRITUAL CONQUEST IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GOA

Why, then, did such a remarkable return to an older conception of geography occur in that particular place at that particular time?[5] Friar Paulo da Trindade —born in Macao around 1570-71, possibly from an Asian mother— spent much of his life as a Franciscan in India, where he died in 1651. His career in the order was not straightforward. He led a faction of Asian-born friars in their fight against the hegemonic intentions of friars from Portugal, spent some years in quasi-exile in a village near Goa, but then also served as Commissary General from 1633 to 1636 and, finally, was elected to a position at the Tribunal of the Inquisition.

One of the most pressing issues for the Franciscan Order in Asia at the time was the inexorable advance of the Jesuits. The rivalry was particularly virulent with regard to Sri Lanka, where the friars had enjoyed a missionary monopoly until 1602, when the Jesuits were officially allowed to enter the island riding a wave of anti-status quo political reform (Abeyasinghe, 1966; Biedermann, 2014c). Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo (captain-general of Ceylon, 1594-1612), the man at the heart of the Habsburg imperial administration's attempt to not only conquer Ceylon but also break the existing Portuguese power structures hindering its control by the Crown, was a brother of Inácio de Azevedo, a Jesuit martyr in Brazil. Against this forceful intervention, the Franciscans at Goa kept protesting in vain for many decades.

To be sure, there is the possibility of thinking about the matter in continuity with a wider, deeper history of Franciscan culture hinted at above. Indeed, it may well be that Trindade as an 'author' is an illusion because the very notion of authorship was of diminished importance among the Franciscans. Trindade may have relied to a

large extent on a now lost work by his fellow friar Francesco Negrone (or Francisco Negrão) who may have done the editing of alien textual sources himself. We have no further information on this matter, but it is clear that the textual palimpsest that survived draws its lifeblood from texts and narratives circulating within the Franciscan Order (cf. Županov and Xavier, 2015: 178). On a more general level, it is tempting to see Trindade's dismissal of Renaissance geography and cosmography as deeply rooted in Medieval practices, including early Franciscan travel literature (Roest, 1996: 122). We may even wish to embrace here what Jordan Kellmann has written about the writing culture of the Capuchins in the New World,

> rooted in the assumption that perception is divinely guided, apprehension and discernment are fundamentally internal processes guided by God, not external analytical reductions of the world. Confronted with the intense profusion of natural productions, the Franciscan ideal of perception was a kind of divinely guided ecstatic appreciation of the natural world (Kellmann, 2011).

This is, indeed, where Trindade's take on the world as a writer merges with the spiritual drunkenness alluded to in the opening quote of this article: to walk around "*arrebatado*" (Trindade, 1962, I: 213) is to walk around enraptured, mesmerized, enthralled by the wonders of the world. To be "drunk" as a friar is not to be fascinated by the spacious amplitude of it all but, as Trindade points out a few pages later, to be "like drunk from divine love" ("*como bêbado do divino amor*"; I, 216). In this sense, then, it may be right to read Trindade as a 'quintessential Franciscan' and, through him, attempt to capture some of the intellectual life, as it still happened in the seventeenth century, of an order that was far less successful in putting itself on the (modern) map than its main rivals.

However, I would also like to insist on the concrete and very pressing politics of such a textual choice in its immediate historical context. It is in this particular, virulently political context that the textual options of Trindade make sense not just as a matter of inescapable group culture, but as a matter of deliberate, rational choice. Trindade's declared goal was to debunk a narrative successfully created and circulated by the Jesuits regarding the inefficacy of Franciscan labour in the East. In the prologue to his chronicle, Trindade clarifies that he is coming out to defend "the honour of this Holy Province […] after having read a book that a certain author composed in Italian and had printed in Rome, wherein he, with not less temerity than audacity, has dared to state that the friars of Saint Francis in India do not labour to create Christian communities, but only to bury the dead and sing Requiems" (Trindade, 1962, I: 5). The "author" here targeted is almost certainly Pietro Maffei, writer of the *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*, a book that overtly attacked Franciscans by portraying them as inefficient missionaries (Maffei, 1589). The declared objective of Trindade was to mount a potent counter-attack against Maffei, the Societas Iesu as a whole, and everything they stood for. True, the *Libri* were by then over four decades old, yet they remained a painful reminder to Franciscans of the superior power of Jesuitic writing and print culture well into the seventeenth century.

But how does one beat the Jesuits on paper? Certainly not, Trindade seems to have reckoned, by allowing oneself to be dragged onto the kind of terrain where they had proven themselves to be unbeatable. Not, then, by investing in a narrative set on a modern geographical stage. If Luis de Guzmán, the Jesuit, had declared that 'to write about the missions that have occurred in various kingdoms of the East Indies, it shall be necessary to first give some notice (though briefly) of this land; because this shall be of much help for everything that will be described in the course of this history" (Guzmán, 1601: fol. 1.); if other Jesuit authors like Pedro Páez and João Rodrigues had invested in solidly structured geographical frameworks for their chronicles, placing them firmly in the realm of what humanists like João de Barros had deemed recommendable (Páez, 2008; Rodrigues, 2001 and later Faria e Sousa, 1731 and Queiroz, 1916); then Trindade had to make it clear how the 'lands' of his history were not up for grabs, not susceptible of measurement and description in the increasingly hegemonic sense of the word. Rather than trying to draw a better map of the East, what Trindade set out to do was to draw a different map —or indeed draw no map at all, at least not in the emerging modern sense of the word, following the new conventions of this art (cf. Woodward, 2007: 12-13). If a map was there at all, then it was of the type drawn centuries earlier in the monasteries of medieval Europe.

The realm of Trindade's *Conquista* is not the sum of the measurable territories extending from, say, 40° to 140° East and 10° South to 50° North. It is the realm embraced by God when He sent His son to redeem humankind:

> As the holy King David prophesised in one of his psalms, regarding the extended lordship [*senhorio*] that the Son of God would come to have on Earth when he came to it taking the guise of our humankind, this [lordship] would extend from one sea to the other, and from the Euphrates to the confines of the Earth […] and how literally this prophecy has come true can be seen [now], since it is [now] known to us how far the Empire of the Christ extends, from one sea to the other, that is, as declared by Genebrardo,[6] from the Western Ocean to the Eastern Ocean and from the Euphrates of Palestine to the Far East, which are truly the last confines of the Earth (Trindade, 1962, III: 478).

This is, then, the true historical-geographical panorama that Trindade has in mind, the realm of the spiritual conquest ordered by God, prophesized by the greatest of kings, and put into action by the followers of Saint Francis. The geography of the Orient is so deeply intertwined with the history of the Franciscan order that the two cannot be taken apart.

Why? Because whilst the Jesuits might well wield their influence to invade territories once held by the Franciscans —an unlawful infringement, the friars would continue to insist— here was something they could not enter:

the depths of history. However artfully the Jesuits might incorporate into their collective memory events prior to their founding in the early 1540s, Trindade could remind his readers of the obvious: only the Franciscans had really been there from the beginning. Their presence in the East, going all the way back to Giovanni da Pian del Carpine (c.1185-1252), was even older than that of the Portuguese Crown, whose officials were now so wrongfully redistributing the lands and souls of those parts. Their presence in the Orient was, in other words, based on an inalienable right of the most sacred kind, linking up the Franciscan body politic with Asia, and the mission that constituted the single subject of the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* directly with God.

Such a concrete political reading may in fact turn out to be more cautious at present than any wider conclusions involving Franciscan and Jesuit writing culture in general. Not all Franciscans wrote or thought like Trindade, and not all Jesuits embraced the opposite ideals.[7] The *Etiópia Oriental* of the Dominican friar João dos Santos (Santos, 1999) opens with one of the most systematic and solidly structured geographical overviews of the entire period. Friar Gaspar de São Bernardino (São Bernardino, 1842), a Franciscan traveller to Persia, reveals great interest in framing his narrative spatially. On the other hand, some Jesuit authors attempted to create historical depth by starting with the lives of Ignatius of Loyola or, more frequently, Francis Xavier (Valignano, 1944; Fróis, 1976; Gonçalves, 1957). We are only just beginning to grasp the amplitude and complexity of these matters, and a number of possible exceptions serve as reminders that much remains to be done before we understand the panorama as a whole.

Whilst I have above spoken of a possible return of Trindade to an 'older' paradigm of subjecting geography to history, the story clearly also tells us something about the simultaneity of multiple regimes of knowledge at the time. The emphasis still prevalent among science historians on the making of 'modernity' should not lead us to brand everything else as a return to a more distant past, but rather to investigate the complex articulations between competing and often complementary paradigms. It may here, on the one hand, be worth reminding ourselves of how the apparent backwardness of Trindade was a matter of deliberate choice and belligerent resistance. At the same time, on the other hand, a note may also be in place that there is as little need to dismiss such an attitude as meaningless in the greater story of scientific progress as there is to romanticise it. Most disturbingly perhaps, the history of how the Seraphic friars engaging with Asian societies resisted the new geographic and ethnographic methods of their time may be gaining relevance today as we strive to cope with science denial on an unprecedented scale.

For the time being, we may wish to acknowledge the following facts. Perhaps due to the hegemonic discourses created around the secular scientific revolution on the one hand and the modernity of Jesuit writing culture on the other, or perhaps quite simply because we have failed to look in the right places, a whole corpus of seventeenth-century knowledge regarding the earth and its inhabitants seems to have evaded our attention. We now know that something describable as Franciscan Orientalism (Županov and Xavier, 2015) existed within the wider remit of Catholic Orientalism, and hence should play a role, as a significant component of the latter, in our appreciation of the twisted preliminaries to Orientalism in the Saidian sense. The work of Trindade is a powerful and intriguing example of a discursive strategy occurring at the time of —and indeed directly dependent upon— European expansion, and yet built around a notion of spiritual conquest precluding the ideological deployment of a rational spatiality as one would expect it.

This has direct implications for the way we understand the management of new geographical and ethnographic information in the early modern period. It speaks volumes about the ways knowledge could be discussed and presented without assuming a necessary relationship with territory and space. Knowledge could be deliberately detached from such emerging forms of epistemic and political organisation, and connected with a non-territorial concept of Empire fundamentally different from the one most early modernists still tend to favour. The next step for historians shall be to scrutinize in more detail the conditions under which such a subculture could flourish, and the reasons for which an organization as powerful as the Order of Saint Francis decided to embrace it in Portuguese Asia. This may then also take us back, some day, to asking the more difficult question of why *exactly* those who chose the path of science did so. Because the latter is, ultimately and from the point of view of a genuinely social history of science, still a matter to be resolved.

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NOTES

1 My understanding of knowledge management is here broadly in line with Blair (2010: 1-5).

2 The English translation of the first sentence of the biblical quote is here taken from the King James Bible, but the second is my translation of Trindade's Portuguese translation.

3 Also note how, as explored above with regard to the riches of India, the fertility of Ceylon —a veritable terrestrial paradise— goes hand in hand with the 'natural laziness' of its people (Trindade, 1962: III, 5-6).

4 Note however the now well-documented fact (Gautier Dalché, 2009) that many elements of Ptolemy's work remained present in the Christian West during the medieval period.

5 I am relying here on some thoughts drafted recently during an earlier incursion into the work of Trindade (Biedermann, 2014). On Trindade's life see Machado (1752: 534), Lopes in Trindade

(1962: 1), vii-xvii, and Teixeira (2008). A recent description of the friar's work is in Županov and Xavier (2015: 172-189).

6 Gilbert Génébrard, the French Benedictine Orientalist and author of a widely read commentary on the Psalms (Génébrard, 1581).

7 On the crass tensions that could oppose individuals of different national and social background within the Jesuit order, Županov (1993).

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Conquests of Memory: Franciscan Chronicles of the East Asian Church in the Early Modern Period

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ABSTRACT: This essay examines the ways in which Franciscan authors recounted the history of their missions in East Asia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Key differences between Franciscan authors and those of other orders are highlighted, with special emphasis placed on disputes over precedence in the Asian mission field, over privileges accorded by the papacy for missionary activity, and over the prestige secured by acts of pious heroism and appointments to high ecclesiastical offices. Chronicles served as important adjuncts to the face-to-face rivalries of Catholic religious orders, with the Franciscans dueling their peers for pride of place in historical memory. The publication of Franciscan histories in Europe ensured that the conflicts between orders extended around the globe, while their original intention was to consolidate the memories of distant efforts to plant and grow the church.

KEYWORDS: Franciscan; History; History writing; Japan; China; Philippines; Southeast Asia; Missionary; Martyr; Memory.

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RESUMEN: *Conquistas de la memoria: crónicas franciscanas en torno a la Iglesia en Extremo Oriente durante la Edad Moderna*.- Este artículo examina el modo en el que los franciscanos narraron la historia de sus misiones en Asia oriental durante los siglos XVI a XVIII. Se pone de relieve algunas diferencias esenciales entre los autores franciscanos y los de otras órdenes, dando particular atención a los debates sobre precedencia en el campo misionero asiático, sobre los privilegios concedidos por el papa para la actividad misionera y sobre el prestigio que conllevaban los actos de heroísmo devoto y el nombramiento para desempeñar altas funciones eclesiásticas. Las crónicas sirvieron como importante complemento en las disputas entre las varias órdenes religiosas, donde los franciscanos se confrontaron con sus pares para ocupar un lugar de honra en la memoria histórica. La publicación de las historia franciscana en Europa permitió que los conflictos entre órdenes se extendiesen a todo el globo, aunque su intención original era la de preservar la memoria de los esfuerzos realizados para implantar y hacer crecer la Iglesia en espacios distantes.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Franciscanos; Historia; Cultura escrita; Japón; China; Filipinas; Sudeste asiático; Misioneros; Mártires; Memoria.

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Frei Paulo da Trindade opened his monumental history of the Franciscans in Asia with an unusually candid acknowledgment. The impetus for writing his *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, he admitted, came from a book he had chanced upon, one identified only as having been written in Italian and printed in Rome. Such was the outrage he felt on reading it that he was compelled to respond; the honor of the Franciscan order was at stake. "It is only natural for children to feel the harm done to their parents," he wrote at the start of his Reader's Prologue, "and so fitting the desire to avenge them and go forth to defend their honor that, if only the children take care not to be immoderate in their efforts, they are more worthy of praise than censure." Feeling the insult to his spiritual family as acutely as he would have felt an injury to his flesh and blood, Trindade countered with a massive outpouring of scholarship. The accusation, he argued, was one made with "no less temerity than impudence" —the Italian book alleged slanderously that "the friars of St. Francis in India did not occupy themselves with making communities of Christians, but only with burying the dead and singing Requiem masses" (Trindade, 1962-1967, I: 5).

A distinguished theologian, born in Macau but who had lived most of his life in Portuguese India, Frei Paulo da Trindade (1570-1651) refused to let such insults alone. He spent six years examining Franciscan archives in Goa and corresponding with informants elsewhere in the *Estado da Índia* in order to write a chronicle of the Friars Minor in Asia that would silence all critics. Part rebuttal, part paean to Franciscan missionary heroism, Trindade's account did not mention other histories of missionary gains in Asia, such as the widely-circulated and oft-reprinted histories of the Jesuits in Japan, China, and India. Each order that participated in the advance of the church was well within its rights to trumpet the worthy deeds of its members. To cast aspersions on the efforts of others, however, was excessive. So Trindade might have approached his task with greater humility vis-à-vis his fellow authors, but sharp words were necessary. Speaking of his history of the Observant Franciscan Província de São Tomé, he wrote, its intention was "to show to the world the falsity of the abovementioned author who, with so little reason, sought to inveigh against this Holy Province on matters for which it deserves great praise." To be sure, Trindade retreated from invective as he concluded his preface, hoping that "divine goodness would favor our intentions, which are none other than the glory of His Holy Name, honor for our sacred Franciscan order, and credit and reputation for this Holy Province of São Tomé" (Trindade, 1962-1967, I: 6).

This formulation gets to the heart of the historical enterprise as it was conceived by early modern chroniclers from religious orders. Their goal was to celebrate the memory of missionary endeavors and pious works, acts that increased the honor of their communities and the glory of God. That such historical writings are filled with devotional sentiment and prayers is not remarkable; that they spent so much energy on the defense of honor is. After all, is it not a commonplace to assert that members of religious orders had "fled the world" and its cares, especially the concern for worldly honors and riches? Indeed, as individuals they did; individual priests, monks, and friars adhered to their personal vows of poverty and often refused offers of academic degrees and prelacies. But as corporations, that is, as groups with specific group identities expressed in written rules or "ways of proceeding" (to use the Jesuits' oft-repeated formulation), they were acutely aware of their social prestige. In the secular realm, honor was the gentleman's garb; among religious, it was the order's habit.

This article seeks to understand how early modern Franciscan authors understood the history of their activities in East Asia. The best way to comprehend how they framed their historical writings is through the prism of honor, that is, the corporate honor of the Order of Friars Minor. In this regard, the chroniclers to be discussed here resemble contemporary secular authors, men who often placed issues of honor at the top of their list of concerns. To be sure, among religious writers it was by no means only the Friars Minor who were concerned for honor: They were no different than their peers among the Jesuits, Dominicans, or Augustinians, to name orders whose members also produced chronicles of Asian endeavors. Each congregation sought to defend its corporate honor by shaping memory through history writing, arguing for precedence in a field crowded with competitors.

Memory is admittedly a slippery term. The question immediately arises: Whose memory? Those Franciscans who read the chronicles in manuscript as internal histories of their order? Laymen and women, as well as other Franciscans and members of other orders, who read the chronicles in print? This is a difficult question to answer. But as we will see, the preservation of internal memory and the publication of heroic histories addressed both internal and external audiences. The potential benefits of such attempts to conquer memory were considerable: Increased public recognition of an order's piety and its saints' intercessory powers in heaven; augmented endowments for missions or communities; greater numbers of recruits; a larger hold on the imagination with regard to overseas missions. Such were the rewards reaped, for example, by the Society of Jesus, whose members were comparative latecomers to the Asian missions (except for Japan). Not only did Jesuit reports and histories impel generation after generation of men to pursue missionary glory in the East, their publications in Europe undeniably helped shape the modern Western imagination with regard to overseas enterprises.

What, then, is distinct about Franciscan historical writing regarding the early modern Asian missions? As Trindade's comments indicate, there was a strong desire to set the record straight about perceived errors circulating in print. This desire to correct suggests that the Franciscans did not pursue history writing with the same vigor as their counterparts among the Jesuits, for example. Trindade stated as much, remarking that his predecessors took more care to "occupy themselves with doing works

worthy of memory than with publishing their praises and eternalizing their names, leaving many buried in oblivion" (Trindade, 1962-1967, I: 6). So the task that he undertook was marked by the desire to restore the Franciscans to their proper place within the history of the Asian church. Like other chroniclers from his order, he insisted on the primacy of the Franciscans within the missions: They had been the first to reach Asia, and their pedigree in those lands stretched back to the Middle Ages. Trindade also insisted on the specific privileges enjoyed by the Franciscans and their close links to the church hierarchy (notably, the numerous prelacies that friars had held over time). And, finally, he and his fellow Franciscan historians underscored the pious heroism of their confreres: Wherever the friars went, they preached more vigorously than other missionaries; they suffered more heroically; and their martyrdoms occasioned more miracles.[1]

These aspects of Franciscan historical writing about Asia will be examined in the discussion that follows, revealing the defining characteristics of the friars' approach to the past during the early modern period. Important chronicles, whether printed or manuscript, will be identified, as well as other publications, from within or without the Franciscan family, which influenced Franciscan writing. This analysis is not, however, an exercise in the "history of the book", nor an attempt to gauge Franciscan writing about Asia. As such, Franciscan descriptions of East Asian polities and cultures will not be a focus here, regardless of their importance for early modern European understanding of Asia. Rather, this discussion will examine Franciscan writing about Franciscan history in Asia, an activity which sought to claim and preserve the memory of their deeds in a region to which other orders also worked.

MATTERS OF PRECEDENT

An overview of the recent historiography of pre-modern Europeans in Asia reveals a dominance of Jesuit narratives. Indeed, given the ubiquity of the figure of Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), it is forgivable to assume that the Jesuits were pioneers in that region. This dominant position was a long time in the making; it began in the early modern period. In the Jesuits' chronicles of their missions, one notices a matter-of-fact quality. Readers of Matteo Ricci's diaries, edited, augmented, and published by Nicolas Trigault as *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* (first ed. 1615), or Danielo Bartoli's *Dell'Asia* (3 vols., 1653-1663) learned first that Asia existed, then that the Portuguese navigators crossed the seas to reach its shores, and finally that Francis Xavier (1506-1552) began to spread the faith among the peoples of the East. The repetition of stories about the Apostle of the Orient after his beatification in 1619 and canonization in 1622 solidified the claims about his primacy in the minds of European readers —and later scholars.[2] Tales found in these same books about such figures as Ricci in China and Francesco Buzomi (1575-1639) or Alexandre de Rhodes (1591-1660) in Vietnam led many to conclude that the Jesuits were indeed the missionary pioneers of East Asia. Expansively named book titles thus did the work of *conquistadores*. Trigault's many editions and translations overwhelmed by their display of how the "Christian Expedition to China" was a Jesuit affair, as Bartoli's voluminous tomes argued that the Society of Jesus also dominated efforts in India and Japan. But the Jesuits had not been the first missionaries to arrive in East Asia. The Friars Minor had worked in the region since the time of the Mongols. Moreover, the friars had accompanied the first Portuguese voyages along the sea route to India. Erasing them from their rightful place in the first chapters of the story of the spread of Christianity in Asia was justly felt as an affront to Franciscan honor.

It is therefore no surprise that early modern Franciscan chroniclers sought to reclaim the memory of their pioneering efforts. After all, it was well known in sixteenth-century Europe that the Franciscans had made their way East in the medieval period. Those adventures were considered among the many accomplishments of the early friars and thus repeated in institutional histories that circulated among Franciscans. Perhaps the most influential of the chronicles where the story of the early friars in Asia was recounted is the *Crónica da Ordem dos Frades Menores* (3 vols., 1557-1570), written by Frei Marcos de Lisboa (1511-1591) in Portuguese and widely translated. This massive book included several chapters on the story of the Franciscans who followed the Silk Road to the lands of the Great Khan —understood to be Central Asian territories ruled over by descendants of Genghis Khan (1206-1227), although these places were not precisely situated in medieval or early modern texts. Frei Marcos recounted how Pope Innocent IV (r.1243-1254) sent priests to the "most ferocious and cruel Tartar people, who seemed intent on destroying the whole world." Summoning friars to act as ambassadors, Innocent sent them on two routes into Asia with news of the gospel, "so that at least the fear of God might curb their many cruelties." The southern route took one Dominican-led expedition to Persia. The northern expedition, a Franciscan group led by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine (1180-1252), made it to *Tartaria* in 1245 after suffering great hardships along their route.[3] Having passed through "many labors, dangers, and weakness from hunger, since they ate nothing but wheat boiled in water, and to drink they had to melt water that was frozen over a fire," they were rewarded with dramatic results. In the succinct résumé of Frei Marcos: "They made great conversions to the faith among the Tartars, and had a custody or vicariate of many convents among the Tartars"[4] (Lisboa, 1615: 17v).

The progress of these churches is not mentioned, but Frei Marcos's later chapters mention another set of Franciscan emissaries, one sent by Benedict XII (r.1334-1342) into *Tartaria* nearly a century later, in 1341.[5] Soon after they arrived at their destination, this group led by Giovanni de' Marignolli (called João de Florença here) was expelled to lands further east by a Muslim usurper of the Tartar throne —who had, however, first delivered some of the friars to a Muslim crowd that "very cruelly cut them to pieces with swords". In those more distant Eastern lands,

referred to as the "most vast empire of the Great Khan", Marignolli was received cordially and given a "general license to preach throughout his empire". Carrying a great cross in his hand, Lisboa reported, "preaching with his friars in all places, he converted many pagans to the faith of Christ, and built many churches, always preaching the name of Christ, without fear" (Lisboa, 1615: 220r/v).

Frei Marcos's chronicle only extends to the papacy of Urban VI (r.1378-1389), thereby leaving accounts of later Franciscan progress in Eastern lands to other hands. The story of these medieval friars and their successes would, however, be replicated in other early modern histories, texts which were dedicated to recounting triumphs in the newly-discovered parts of East Asia. Linking the medieval missions to the early modern ones —in light of the gap of two centuries— proved difficult. The astute reader asked: Was the *Tartaria* of these medieval expeditions actually in East Asia? Or was it situated on the vast steppes of Central Asia? Medieval geography had no firm answers to these questions, and early modern travelers did not visit the area until the seventeenth century. The association of Tartary with Yuan dynasty China was nevertheless a convenient one for Franciscan chroniclers. By claiming that their men had gone to the territories ruled over by the descendants of Kublai Khan (r.1260-1294), they could justify their presence in the same regions later on. To be sure, at least one of the early Franciscans, Giovanni da Montecorvino (1247-1328), served as Bishop of Cambaluc in the city that would later be known as Beijing. But the clear linkage between the Tartar city and the Ming dynasty imperial capital would only be established for European readers in the seventeenth century and would be a matter of dispute in Europe for many decades.

The goad for the Franciscan historians was likely the Jesuit Nicolas Trigault's claim that Francis Xavier was the founder of the China mission (Trigault, 1615: 127). Frei Paulo de Trindade and Frei Jacinto de Deus (1612-1681) responded to this assertion by claiming the precedent of their brethren's efforts in that very region. Trindade's second chapter, following one dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi's commitment to "preaching the faith and converting the infidels", asserts that later friars acted on this same impulse, and that there was "no corner of the world to which they did not take the light of the Holy Gospel", including Russia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Egypt, and *Grã Tartaria*. Here Trindade repeats (and at times embellishes) assertions made by Frei Marcos de Lisboa, insisting that the expeditions to *Tartaria* resulted in the conversions of "infinite numbers of those barbarous infidels". Moreover, the friars even baptized a "brother of the emperor named Octogense," a convert whose evident sanctity occasioned many miracles (Trindade, 1962-1967, I: 9, 13, 16).

Frei José de Jesus Maria, who produced a history of the Asian missions in the middle of the eighteenth century, also made sure to underscore the primacy of the friars in the Eastern missions. The manuscript history *Azia Sinica e Japonica* focuses on East Asia, and especially on the Portuguese colony of Macau. A Portuguese friar about whom little is known beyond the fact that he lived in Macau *circa* 1745, Jesus Maria insists, using the Jesuits as his foil, that Franciscans wrote a large part of the preface to the early modern missions. His synopsis of the history of the church in *Azia Maior* from the time of St. Thomas the Apostle until the arrival of the Portuguese remarks upon the presence of Syrian Christians, including Arians and Nestorians, in China. Jesus Maria cites the finding of the Nestorian stele in Xi'an, reported by Jesuit missionaries in 1625, that was inscribed with a text reproduced and translated in the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* (first ed., Amsterdam, 1667). Until the thirteenth century, however, "the Faith of Christ in this *Azia Mayor* was alternately received and repudiated", until the moment when the Great Khan conquered his vast domains. Hearing this news, Frei José recorded, Pope Nicholas IV (r.1288-1292) —the first Franciscan to wear the papal tiara— decided that the "sons of St. Francis would have the glory to be the first missionaries and the first prelates of the churches of those dilated empires." After recording the names of the early Franciscan travelers to Tartaria, this chronicler passes quickly over their heroic acts —"raising oratories, founding churches, making hospitals, baptizing princes and innumerable people, torching idols, destroying *pagodes*, uprooting superstitions, and undoing sects"— before lamenting the destruction of these works in the midst of the wars between Chinese and Tartars after the year 1400 (Jesus Maria, 1941-1950, I: 41-48).

By pointing to remote precedents in East Asia —even if there remained ambiguity about the distinction between China and *Tartaria*— Franciscan authors established their positions within a long line of succession. Filling in the gaps between the Tartary enterprises and the missions of their own time (here, mostly the seventeenth century) was a much greater challenge. Frei Marcos de Lisboa was able to examine archives of various Franciscan houses in Spain and Portugal, sifting through medieval documents in order to craft his narrative. He learned of the thirteenth and fourteenth century missions out along the Silk Road since reports about them circulated as far as Iberia. Records of the papal pronouncements that spurred these voyages and conceded Franciscans privileges to organize and administer new churches in distant lands were also mentioned in Lisboa's chronicle.

Frei Marcos de Lisboa also benefitted from the fact that the Order of Friars Minor had only one branch during the period chronicled by him. The division of the Franciscan family in the fifteenth century, when it separated into Observant and Conventual wings, and the subsequent emergence from the Observants of Discalced, Capuchin, Recollect branches, as well as their female correspondents, significantly impeded the writing of the order's history. Within Portugal and its overseas empire, there were two main branches after the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Observants and the Reformed Observants. This second group, also known as Discalced Franciscans (in Portugal, called *Capuchos*[6]), had enough similarities with the Observants to generate jurisdictional confusion. Moreover, the fact that Franciscan communities across Maritime Asia were only gradually grouped into provinc-

es (with borders disputed between Portuguese and Spanish Franciscans) meant that there was no single repository for documents.[7] Unlike the Jesuits, who had a centralized structure and obliged province-level narratives to be sent yearly to Rome, the Franciscans could not count on a ready reserve of materials for their histories. To put order in the chaos of Franciscan sources was thus their first priority as chroniclers when they set to their task in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Both Frei Paulo da Trindade and Frei José de Jesus Maria were aware of the challenges they faced in seeking to produce general histories. Other Franciscan authors limited themselves to treating specific events or particular missionaries, tasks that did not depend on rich archives—where an accumulation of sources about the martyrdom of a set of friars, for example, would suffice. By contrast, Trindade's *Spiritual Conquest of the Orient* was intended as a sweeping history of the Observant Province of São Tomé, which had boundaries stretching from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan. But even from the capital of the *Estado da Índia*, Trindade had difficulty surveying the historical terrain of Franciscan Asia. He mentions the laborious task of collecting information, "especially about older things, because of the great carelessness on the part both of authors who wrote about Indian matters and of our own men of those times" (Trindade, 1962-1967, I: 6).

Straightening the twisted writings of others compounded the historian's difficulties, a later Franciscan chronicler affirmed. In his *Vergel das Plantas, e Flores da Provincia da Madre de Deos dos Capuchos Reformados* (Lisbon, 1690), Frei Jacinto de Deus, a Macau-born Discalced friar who spent most of his life in Goa, adopted a biblical metaphor for his effort to make sense of the friars' past by rummaging in scattered and unreliable sources. The story he chose was that of the priest Nehemias, who had to seek the sacred ancestral fire of the Jews in Persia [II Macc. 1: 19-22]:

> It is manifest how difficult, & almost impossible it is to penetrate the obscure caverns of antiquity; time changes everything, consuming all. We seek the remains, & we infer the effects. Well known is that miraculous event recounted in the first chapter of the second book of Maccabees. The sons of Israel hid the holy fire in a deep cave. Nehemias discovered the place but did not find the fire, because it had turned into water over time. We seek to discover past events, & either we do not find them, or we find them different from what they were: Tradition affirms and texts relate, nevertheless, that it was thus, and we should believe them unless we wish to dismiss everything. Imitating Nehemias, I travelled to various places, digging through much earth, to uncover the lives and heroic deeds of our predecessors. In very ancient fragments, & in almost indecipherable writings, I found the memory of some; about others, in the memory of the elderly who either spoke of them or heard from others who knew and communicated with them.

The memory of one's elders, Frei Jacinto admitted, was not the most reliable source; the written work of his predecessors was more solid. He mentions a text by Frei Francisco Negrão, the author of a chronicle that has since been lost, and Trindade's history, lamenting that neither work was published by the time he wrote and that neither was available to him in Goa in the 1670s.[8] "With this lack, and the dearth of reports," Frei Jacinto claimed, "it required great labors before I could discover the fire hidden in the well of antiquity and in the dark cavern of oblivion, using files and archives, relations and papers that some curious individuals preserved" (Deus, 1690: Reader's Preface).

The end result of these investigations into the obscure corners of memory was, needless to say, that the brilliant pedigree of Franciscan efforts was made to shine more brightly. Echoing the assertions made by Trindade, a generation previously, Frei Jacinto de Deus insisted that his brethren could claim precedence in Asia and elsewhere. He proclaimed his intention clearly in the title of his very first article: "The Priority of the Friars Minor in All of the Service to God will be Demonstrated". Here, the distinctions between *Capuchos* and the other Franciscan families were conveniently collapsed into one in order to serve the author's purpose. The Franciscans "were the first ones to plant the tree of the Cross in the West Indies, & to shine the light of the Gospel into the darkness of Idolatry: Frei João Peres de Marchena, of the Portuguese nation, son of the Holy Province of Arrábida, in the company of the same Christopher Columbus, the first discoverer of that New World[9]; they were the first to light the torch of faith in the dark lands of Brazil: Frey Henrique of Coimbra and his companions; these same men were the first who sowed the seeds of the Gospel in the Orient, & the first who traversed all of this vast & spacious Indian Empire" (Deus, 1690: 117).[10]

When he reached the lands at the farthest corner of Asia, however, Frei Jacinto de Deus had to concede that the Franciscans had not been the first emissaries of the Church. He admitted grudgingly that "if in any place, such as Japan, they came to cultivate second," the friars' zeal nevertheless surpassed that of the (Jesuit) pioneers —a theme which will be discussed in greater detail below. Frei Jacinto continued to place asterisks next to all of the widely-touted Jesuit inaugural victories in the East, especially in China: "Although that great light of the Orient, St. Francis Xavier, undeniably made the first proclamation of Faith [on its shores], yet he could not enter into the interior of the Empire" (Deus, 1690: 119). The true pioneer in the *sertão do vasto Imperio da China*, he claimed, was actually a Dominican, Frei Gaspar da Cruz (c.1520-1570), who had a brief stay at Canton in 1556. But this triumph was also a Franciscan victory, Frei Jacinto reasoned, "because the sons of our *padre* St. Dominic, and those of our holy religion are through mutual love one in the same, and our Holy Patriarchs wanted a union that would be identical, so if they were the first, we would not remain second." Just in case this rationale did not prove compelling to his readers, Frei Jacinto de Deus had other grounds for his broader point. He asserted to his readers that the first apostles to enter the Ming Empire were Franciscans, not Jesuits: Fray Pedro de Alfaro

(d.1580), custodian of the Philippine Discalced friars, had attempted unsuccessfully to penetrate China in 1579, before Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci tried the same (Deus, 1690: 119). Regardless of the long-term outcome of Alfaro's mission, it did occur a few short months before the Jesuit pair secured permission to remain after the end of the Canton fairs. Of course, other Jesuits had preceded the two Italians, but the Franciscan chronicler was most likely unaware of those earlier missions.[11] Knowledge, for that matter, would not have served his polemical intent.

FRANCISCANS AT THE FOREFRONT

More than just the question of precedence in the mission fields of East Asia, the perception of Franciscan primacy in the early modern Asian church was of great concern to its chroniclers. Here was the trump card that the friars could hold against the Jesuits and their seemingly invincible élan. The Society of Jesus, approved by Pope Paul III (r.1534-1549) as recently as 1540, was a relatively new organization. That novelty was a significant weakness; it meant that the Jesuits did not enjoy the longstanding relations with princes and prelates that the Franciscans did. By the time it occurred to the papacy that the new overseas territories needed missionaries and bishops, the first group to come to mind was not the secular clergy but the regular clergy —and not upstarts like the Jesuits, except occasionally. To the friars therefore fell many of the first episcopal appointments of the expanding church hierarchy. And to the friars accrued the first new privileges for missionary pastoral work, concessions that enhanced the already numerous formal capacities, exceptions, and unique powers that medieval popes had conceded to the Order of Friars Minor.

Keeping track of manifestations of papal favor was a particular pleasure for Franciscan chroniclers of the Asian missions. A common feature of their histories is the listing of archbishops and bishops drawn from the ranks of the friars, especially for territories with vast jurisdictions. Of these, the most expansive was the Archbishopric of Goa, a see with boundaries that largely matched those of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. Early on in Frei Paulo da Trindade's history, one finds a discussion of how King João III (r.1521-1557) exercised his patronage rights to secure the installation of Frei Fernando Vaqueiro (d.1535) as a suffragan bishop over the eastern territories encompassed by the vast Diocese of Funchal.[12] When the new diocese of Goa was erected in 1533, Trindade reports, the king's candidate to hold the office was also a Franciscan, Juan de Albuquerque (d.1553). Although this nominee, unlike the Observant author Trindade, was a member of the Reformed Observants, his status as the Franciscan who first organized the cathedral, its chapter, and the city's parishes merited Albuquerque a prime spot in the chronicle. Trindade's list of archbishops of Goa continues with references to several Dominicans, Augustinians, and Hieronymites, conveniently ending with the mention of yet another Franciscan, Frei Bernardino de Sena (1571-1632), who only declined to take up the archbishop's miter because he also won election as the superior general of his order[13] (Trindade, 1962-1967, I: 92-100).

Later Franciscan chroniclers, such as Frei José de Jesus Maria in the eighteenth century, felt obliged to devote more pages in their histories to the role that friars played in church administration. To be sure, the Archbishops of Goa occupied the top spot, enjoying the title Primate of the Orient and close relationships with the viceroys of the *Estado da Índia*. Further afield in East Asia, however, things were more confused. The vagaries of communication between Goa and Macau, as well as the irruption of Dutch power onto Southeast Asian seas, the Portuguese restoration in 1640, and various other political swings in East Asia meant that the episcopal lines of succession in that region were not always clear. While other religious orders, especially the Jesuits, maintained reserves of senior priests in Macau, these individuals were not always elevated to the bishoprics that the papacy had created to administer the region's growing churches. As a result, the dioceses of China and of Japan were often left vacant, whether because candidates selected by king and pope did not reach East Asia or because incumbents left their sees. Whereas the Bishops of Japan were chosen from among the Jesuits during the period from 1588 until the effective end of the early modern mission church in 1639 (with the final cessation of Portuguese commerce with Japan), the Bishops of China came from other orders. It is worth noting, however, that the boundaries of this "Bishopric of China" were ill-defined and extended no farther than over the city of Macau for most of the time examined here. Moreover, there were significant periods, especially from 1613 until 1692, when administration of the see was entrusted to ecclesiastical governors —individuals whose privileges were often contested by other churchmen in Macau. These were the periods that the Franciscan chroniclers sought to illuminate, in the hopes of removing the shadow of usurpation that hung over their brethren who exercised such functions.

Frei José de Jesus Maria dedicates several chapters of his *Azia Sinica e Japonica* to discussing how Macau got its bishopric and who exercised jurisdiction over it. He cites *in extenso* the apostolic brief that Gregory XIII (r.1572-1585) issued on the subject in 1575, insisting that the erection of the bishopric was postponed because of the *Jornada de África*, King Sebastião I's ill-starred expedition to Morocco in 1578. Jesus Maria also includes a discussion about who was the first prelate to receive the title of Bishop of China —curiously, a discourse that distinguishes between two Jesuits, Andrés de Oviedo (1517-1577) and Melchior Carneiro (1516-1583). But Jesus Maria continues in his presentation of the matter to offer a list of all the prelates who have held jurisdiction in East Asia, even those who served as ecclesiastical governors of the bishopric in Macau for the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Unsurprisingly, the first eight names on his list of forty-eight are the Franciscans of the Mission to *Tartaria*, starting with "*Illustrissimo* Dom Frei João de Monte Corvino Franciscan, Archbishop of Cam-

baluc or Peking, with title and exercise, ambassador and apostolic legate of Pope Nicholas V." He completes his list of bishops with a chapter dedicated to biographic sketches of those who exercised jurisdiction over Macau (in distinction to bishops with greater pretensions to jurisdiction over China), devoting its longest discussion to the arrival of Frei Hilário de Santa Rosa, who reached the city in 1742. Then he launches into a "problematical dissertation", with the purpose of demonstrating that "Franciscan religious were the first ones responsible for all of this Christian community" (Jesus Maria, 1941-1950, I: 128-152).

So a question of honor motivated Frei José de Jesus Maria. His main point is that the medieval bishops of Cathay, that is, the Franciscan friars who traveled to *Grã Tartaria*, indeed exercised episcopal jurisdiction over China. Consequently, Franciscans had the right to continue to work there, even if that right was called into question by the disputes over the Chinese Rites in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After all, the region was part of their order's spiritual patrimony (Jesus Maria, 1941-1950, I: 152-153). That Marco Polo's Cathay was the same as China was a point addressed by Jesuit authors over a century previously in *De Christiana Expeditione*, so it may seem curious that Jesus Maria felt compelled to reassert the identity of the two places (Trigault, 1615: 3). But the need for his argument was patent, because *Cataio* continued to be present in contemporary European cartography. Indeed, this fabled land migrated on maps over the course of the seventeenth century to beyond the Great Wall and ever towards the northeast corner of Asia before disappearing entirely in the eighteenth century.[14]

While it may seem that Frei José de Jesus Maria's argument properly pertains to the general consideration of precedence considered above, there were other matters at stake. The most important of these was whether the Franciscans had the right to work as missionaries in the region, something that an episcopal pedigree would ensure. Proof could be found in the specific privileges that had been conceded by popes to the Franciscans for carrying out missions and administering other church institutions in the region. Papal briefs permitting the creation of Franciscan provinces were of particular importance, and were cited oftentimes verbatim. Perhaps the most striking examples of this practice relate to the Japanese mission, although the fault line between the Spanish and Portuguese empires in Southeast Asia also occasioned disputes.

Seizing the initiative provided by a surging wave of conversions in the late 1570s and early 1580s, the Jesuits sought to have Japan designated as their exclusive mission territory. There is nothing surprising about this desire within the context of early modern missionization: Conquered territories in the Americas and Asia were often divided among different orders as a way of limiting conflicts. The Jesuits had been the first to arrive in Japan and had been the first to set to work cultivating the church in that remote island nation. The concession of exclusive rights to proselytize there came in a papal brief issued by Pope Gregory XIII in January 1585, within a year of the arrival of the first Franciscan friars in Japan. The two events were unrelated, however, since the Jesuits had lobbied for several years for this regime of exclusivity.[15] The news, however, was not well received among the Franciscans in Europe, and their brethren in Manila, who were intent on establishing new mission territories from their base in the Philippines, responded aggressively.

The story of how the several orders pleaded with the papacy for the right to send missionaries to Japan is a complex one, and falls beyond the scope of this analysis. It is sufficient to remark that several groups of friars made their way to Kyushu and Honshu in the decade after 1585, and a few of these ended their days as martyrs.[16] The tragic drama of 1597 that inaugurated half a century of bloody persecutions in Japan involved friars in the starring roles: Of the twenty-six martyrs of Nagasaki, six were Franciscans (whereas three were Japanese members of the Society of Jesus). That the friars were interlopers in Jesuit territory was a key point in the Jesuit understanding of the affair, something that would influence the memories of Japan produced by contemporary chroniclers. Within three years, however, the papacy —despite Clement VIII's reaffirmation of the Jesuits' exclusive rights to Japan in 1597— decided to permit all missionary orders to seek souls in Japan and China, so long as they arrived in the mission field through the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* (and not from Mexico via Manila). Rather than being the seed of the church, the blood of martyrs turned into rivers of ink to be exhausted in polemics on the history of the fledgling East Asian church.

Contradictory pronouncements from Rome, evidently influenced by curial politics, spurred more than a few battles between religious orders. The papal briefs that accorded exclusions or inclusions of missionaries in Japan were the prelude to more intense wrangling decades later over the permissions and prohibitions of the Chinese Rites. No sooner had Clement VIII's general permission for friars to work in Japan been issued than Jesuit and Franciscan chronicles of East Asia appeared in Europe. On the Jesuit side, Luis de Guzmán published his two-volume *Historia de las Missiones que han hecho los Religiosos de la Compañia de Iesvs, para Predicar el Sancto Evangelio en los Reynos de Iapon* (Alcalá, 1601), duly reproducing the original 1585 brief, translated for his readers into Castilian (Guzmán, 1601: 2: 649-651). This Jesuit chronicler could not do without a long disquisition denouncing his order's critics, including those friars who impugned the motives of the Society of Jesus for seeking the original order of exclusion (Ibid., 2: 645-712).

Chief among those who denounced the Jesuits was Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, a Philippine Discalced friar who produced a history of the Province of San Gregorio printed at Barcelona, also in 1601. In this work, entitled *Historia de las Islas del Archipielago, y Reynos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboxa y Iappon, y de lo sucedido en ellos a los Religiosos Descalços, de la Orden del Seraphico Padre San Francisco, de la Provincia de San Gregorio de las Philippinas*, Ribadeneira cast his net widely over East Asia. For

him, the Jesuits had no right to exclusivity —in Japan or elsewhere— since the friars had their own capacious permission from the papacy. He thus includes a Castilian translation of the brief that Sixtus V (r.1585-1590; a former Franciscan) issued in 1586, which transformed the Discalced Franciscan's custody in the Philippines into a full-fledged province. The papal decree gave the friars explicit license to create new convents "in the same Philippine Islands, as well as in whichever other lands and places in those Indies, as well as in those called the Kingdoms of China." No specific permissions from the Holy See would therefore be necessary for sending friars to any of the adjacent lands "where the conversion of the heathens to the Catholic faith can be conveniently sought" (Ribadeneira, 1601: 87). That Ribadeneira should have dedicated nearly half of his book to recounting the 1597 martyrdom of the six friars at Nagasaki is a clear indication of how literally the Philippine Franciscans intended to take Sixtus V's words —regardless of Clement VIII's earlier pronouncements (Ibid., 349-711).

One should not suppose that Ribadeneira only targeted the Jesuits in his writings. He also intended to redraw the Franciscan map of Asia, positing clearer divisions between the Portuguese Observants of the Province of São Tomé and the Portuguese Discalced friars of the Province of Madre de Deus. The latter province, created in 1593, separated the Asian custodies from the Province of Arrábida, a jurisdiction primarily situated in continental Portugal (Deus, 1690: 58). Ribadeneira was particularly interested in establishing precedents for where Castilian Discalced Friars might legitimately work both inside and outside the Philippines. From the perspective of the Discalced Friars at Manila, they possessed the right to create houses in places that lay beyond the heart of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*: Southeast and East Asia, from Malacca all the way to Japan, by way of *Gran China* and *Tartaria*. A principal reason for staking this claim to such a vast spread of territories was the ill-defined nature of ecclesiastical jurisdictions in East Asia —an ambiguity rooted in the disputes between the Spanish and the Portuguese empires and in an inadequate knowledge of the region's geography in Rome.

In light of the Jesuit precedent with regard to Japan, exclusive rights to one region or another might be obtained if it could be convincingly argued that a particular group had claimed them early on. Here is where chroniclers played an important role: They published works destined for large European audiences (Castilian and Italian readership, especially) that could help associate the Franciscan name with particular territories. The 1601 date of his chronicle is therefore significant. By that date, the only significant missionary advances in East and Southeast Asia had been made in Japan. Everywhere else, from the colonial cities of Malacca, Manila, and Macau to the kingdoms of Cambodia and Siam, and even the Ming Empire, missionary efforts were still incipient and communities of resident friars remained small. By 1601, Matteo Ricci had only just reached Beijing; a mere handful of Jesuits tended to miniscule flocks within China; the storied waves of conversions that would come from Jesuit efforts there, as well as in Vietnam, were still decades in the future. Ribadeneira's 700-page history of the Provincia de San Gregorio therefore laid claim to areas which had yet to be firmly associated with any other order —regardless of how tenuous the Castilian Discalced friars' presence in them was.

Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira also took aim at Portuguese Franciscan pretensions. The Philippine friars sought to establish themselves in areas that, according to the imperial logic that guided missionary expansion, belonged to their Portuguese confreres. For example, the Discalced convents in Malacca and Macau were founded by friars from Manila. According to Ribadeneira's account of the creation of the first Franciscan house in Macau in 1579, that city's Portuguese inhabitants "were not only pleased that they built a church and a house, remaining there to stay, but also helped them with alms." In his telling, far from being viewed as interlopers, the friars were lauded for the "holy poverty that they demonstrated with their exemplary lives, always dealing with the poor of the hospital, curing and comforting them" (Ribadeneira, 1601: 96-97). A similar reception was accorded the friars from Manila in Malacca, where the leader of the same group that had been in Macau created a new convent in 1580. A hermitage outside the city walls, conceded to them by the Portuguese authorities, continued to function as a spiritual pole "because the people are greatly devoted both to the church and to the friars" (Ibid., 162). The message sent with these passages seems clear: The Castilian Discalced friars were appreciated by the Portuguese. They should not be barred from establishing communities in Portuguese colonial cities, or in areas beyond those colonies further to the West, such as Cochinchina or Siam.

From a different perspective, the gestures recorded by Ribadeneira were examples of Castilian overreach into Portuguese territory. His chronicle downplays the problems caused by such moves. He describes the time spent by the friars in Macau in 1579 as a spiritual idyll, with the local clergy and Portuguese inhabitants responding to the pious example of the Franciscans' lives (Ribadeneira, 1601: 96-99). Despite this hospitable welcome, the Portuguese still preferred that the friars "would go to build a convent in Malacca, where the ships heading from Macau to India take on supplies, and where there is much dealing with heathens from various rich and populous kingdoms" (Ibid., 161). The same event was not recorded in quite the same way by Frei Paulo da Trindade, who wrote his *Conquista Espiritual* three decades later. Unlike his Castilian fellow chronicler, this Portuguese historian recorded that the presence of friars from Manila caused an uproar: "After they had founded the convent of Our Lady of Porziuncola in Macau, some residents of that city raised a great persecution against them, taking it poorly that Castilians came to Macau because of the great losses that they suffered from them in their trading." The reason for the hasty departure for Goa —and the fatal shipwreck— of their leader, Pedro de Alfaro, was the summons he had re-

ceived to account for the friars' actions before the viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*. The Italian friar who was left behind at the new convent, Giovanni Battista Lucarelli (d.1604), found it difficult to calm the *tormenta* that arose against the Franciscans at Macau. Within a few months, he embarked himself for India himself (Trindade, 1962-1967, III: 378-380).

According to Ribadeneira, things went much more smoothly for the friars after their departure from Macau. Some of them regrouped in Cochinchina, where they set to work spreading the gospel and were even able to present the Christian message at court. Others found their way to Siam.[17] Lucarelli, simply called Juan Baptista (or João Baptista) in the chronicles, continued towards India but made a stop in Malacca, where the city's bishop and captain received him well. But this welcome did not win the friars from Manila a longer stay than they had enjoyed in Macau —Malacca was indisputably Portuguese territory, and the friars were soon obliged to turn over the new convent to their Reformed Observant brethren. Here is the scene as presented in Ribadeneira's account:

> Being asked to do so by the Portuguese, the Castilian *padres* left. Immediately, there arrived Portuguese religious who were also Discalced friars from the very reformed Province of Arrábida of Portugal, who live with great sanctity, edifying the people with their good example, and converting many infidels to our holy faith (Ribadeneira, 1601: 163).

Frei Paulo da Trindade gave a longer description of these events, relating how Lucarelli made his way to Rome in the mid-1580s in order to discuss the work of his confreres in Asia with Sixtus V. Both pope and minister general were thus prompted to reorganize the Reformed Franciscans in those remote regions, sending off a group of *Capuchos* from Portugal to Malacca, yet making the Malacca convent dependent on the Observant Province of São Tomé in India until a Discalced province was created later on.[18] In Trindade's account, the arrival of the Portuguese friars at Malacca in 1585 was occasion for rejoicing, with the bishop and captain escorting them "with great pomp and solemn procession" to their convent.[19] Keen to downplay the evident internal strife created by the eviction of the Castilian friars (and to avoid the accusation of gloating over this victory for both the Portuguese Observants and Discalced Franciscans), Trindade recorded that the men from Manila accepted their fate serenely: "The friars of the Custody of *São Gregório* who were there, seeing what they had to do by order of the King and the Minister General, lowering their heads like the sons of obedience, left behind that convent for their custody" (Trindade, 1962-1967, III: 384-391). Contemporary documents, however, reveal that this transition was anything but pacific, mentioning the "revolts that happened there about the Castilian *padres* not wanting to hand over the house" (Ibid., III: 390, n.5). More important to Trindade, however, was to confirm that his Observant Província de São Tomé had always cooperated with the Discalced friars at Malacca. It should not come as a surprise that the memory of these internal conflicts would cause discomfort for later Franciscan chroniclers. When Frei Jacinto de Deus produced his history in the 1670s, he could not avoid a lengthy discussion of the problems occasioned by the different groups of Franciscans in Asia and the disputes created by shifting jurisdictions over the decades (Deus, 1690: 354-423).

PIOUS HEROES IN THE EAST

Franciscan chroniclers were not only intent on revealing proof of ancient pedigrees and the rights and privileges bestowed upon missionary friars. They also presented accounts of the virtuous deeds of their men, not simply to add to the voluminous catalogues of missionary heroes, but rather to prove that Franciscan efforts were more ambitious and more valiant that those of their peers. Competition, here again, was the spur that set Franciscan pens in motion, particularly as a counterpoint to Jesuit historiographical efforts. It will suffice to look at two cases: the first mission to China by Fray Pedro de Alfaro; and the martyrdoms in Japan. Both are stories of failure —on the one hand, Alfaro's failure to remain in China to transmit the gospel; on the other, the destruction of Franciscan missionary endeavors in Japan. But both events were remembered as episodes of exemplary virtue, of virtue thwarted by evil, or of the supreme virtue of self-sacrifice. These, Franciscan chroniclers claimed, were the key virtues of the Seraphic family, regardless of their outcomes in this world.

The story of Pedro de Alfaro has been mentioned above, but it is worth the effort to recapitulate its main outlines. Alfaro was named head of the new Discalced custody in the Philippines in 1577, arriving in Manila the following year. His ambition was not limited to the Spanish colony or even the Philippine islands. He immediately set his sights on China. In 1579, he therefore traveled to the China coast and made his way to Canton but failed to convince the local authorities to grant him permission to reside within the Ming Empire. Retreating to Macau, he and his companions created a new convent in the Portuguese colony before being forced from the city. Alfaro died in a shipwreck near the Vietnamese coast on his voyage westward in 1580, leaving the issue of the dividing line between Portuguese and Castilian claims in Asia to be settled in Rome by others.

Alfaro's story was repeated in several early modern chronicles. Perhaps the most widely circulated version appeared in one of the first substantial accounts of China to be published in Europe, the widely-reprinted *Historia de las Cosas mas notables, Ritos y Costumbres del gran Reyno de la China* (first ed., 1585) by the Augustinian friar Fray Juan González de Mendoza (1545-1618). The first part of the book was based on the writings of fellow Augustinians who visited Fujian Province in the mid-1570s, while the second part contains an account of Alfaro's visit to Canton in 1579, and a third part tells of the brief visit made by Fray Martín Ignacio de Loyola (1550-1606) to Fujian and Guangdong Provinces in 1582. Alfa-

ro's journey is described as a "miraculous entry" into China, his seven-month stay the source of many "notable and curious" details (González de Mendoza, 1586: 265). In contrast to the Society of Jesus, whose members (it was widely known from their own printed letters) had turned their backs on China in favor of Japan, the Franciscans immediately desired to enter the Ming Empire as soon as they learned of its *grandezas y secretos*. Such was their drive that the friars were willing to disregard the governor of the Philippines, who tried to dissuade them, and to risk capture by pirates to reach the mission field (Ibid., 267). Guided by the hand of God, Alfaro and three companions survived a shipwreck off the China coast and made it to their destination, where they remained until they were forced to retreat.

This narrative was reproduced in successive Franciscan chronicles. Each new version dwelt on the heroic virtues of Alfaro and his companions, as well as on their audacity in braving dangers to spread the gospel. But there was one crucial question that demanded explanation: Why did they fail? If divine will could transport them around the world to the gates of the Ming Empire, proving its protective presence with several miracles, why was it not sufficient to change the hearts of the Chinese? After all, Alfaro's desire to enter China was reinforced by his estimation that its inhabitants were "discreet and able people, and with good capacity for understanding, something that facilitated his wishes and persuaded him that it would be easy to make them understand the things of God" (González de Mendoza, 1586: 267). The reason given for the friars' failure was the lies told by the interpreter who stood between them and the Chinese authorities. In other words, the Franciscans were not to blame. González de Mendoza describes how their interpreter fabricated his own version of the friars' intentions and undermined their statements in several meetings with Chinese officials. To make matters worse, the Portuguese officials at Macau denounced the friars to their Chinese counterparts, suggesting that they were spies, out of fear that the Castilians might interfere with their lucrative trade (Ibid., 283-302).

Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira's 1601 chronicle offered a shortened version of Alfaro's story, while adding accounts of the travails of other Franciscans on the China coast. Most importantly, he underscored the friars' unyielding desire to take on what had become understood as the greatest challenge in all of Asia, getting into the seemingly impenetrable Ming Empire (or convincing their superiors in Manila that such an effort was worthwhile):

> In many servants of God the drive for the conversion of souls is insatiable, affecting them like the sparks of fire spread through reeds, which are the infidels who are empty of the knowledge of their creator and God. All of the religious who have arrived and who will arrive in the Philippines go with very great desires to evangelize Christ crucified to the idolaters of the great kingdom of China, even though they must surrender themselves to what holy obedience demands, moderating their holy desires (Ribadeneira, 1601: 102).

But the friars' resignation to the will of God (and king, and bishop) did not prevent a number of other Franciscans from reaching China. Ribadeneira recounted the voyages of several whose expeditions to Macau or elsewhere in Asia were blown off course towards Chinese shores. Fray Geronimo de Burgos, for example, sought to reach the Portuguese colony with six companions in 1582, but found himself in "another port of the Great China", where they were captured by Ming authorities. The friars were jailed in Canton; in sum, Ribadeneira reported, they spent "more than five months in jails, discomforts, hungers, waters, colds, prisons, and many other calamities and labors, the Lord always conserving them so as to augment their merits, as well as to testify to what they had seen, and so that they would see what preachers of the gospel would suffer among those infidels" (Ribadeneira, 1601: 116).

After the story of Jesuit success in China began to spread in Europe, above all with the publication of Trigault's *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* (first published fourteen years after Ribadeneira's volume), Franciscan chroniclers felt compelled to return to the story of Alfaro's failure. Frei Paulo da Trindade picked up Ribadeneira's line, yet he omitted the allegation that the Portuguese at Macau played a nefarious role in the affair. Trindade recounts the story succinctly, highlighting the role of the unfaithful interpreter, whom he calls a Chinese "renegade from Macau" who never told the truth to either the Franciscans or the Ming authorities. Trindade notes that the missionaries were able to set up an altar in their appointed lodgings, where "to the glory of God and of our *padre* St. Francis, they said the first masses that were said in this city". In this version, the Portuguese at Macau had learned of their arrival and, manifesting an ardent desire for a Franciscan community in their midst, had urged the friars to set up a convent in the colony on their way back to Manila. According to Trindade, Alfaro realized that he could make no headway in China without learning the language, and "thought it good advice to go to the Portuguese at Macau." Trindade concludes his discussion by noting that other Franciscan attempts to remain in Canton met similar results. Describing a visit by two friars, perhaps in the early seventeenth century, he remarks of the Chinese that "the great caution that they use with foreigners, and the weight of the delights of the flesh and vices in which they live are great impediments for the divine word and the preaching of the holy gospel to bear fruit in them" (Trindade, 1962-1967, III: 510-517).

Curiously, despite the renewed attempts by Franciscans from Manila to enter China after 1633 and the sporadic, yet sustained, Castilian missions over the course of the following decades in Shandong Province in Northern China, chronicles omit those chapters of the East Asian missions.[20] The reasons for this lacuna are unknown, but it is likely that the Portuguese war of independence (1640-1668) and the ambiguous position of some of the Franciscans with regard to the Chinese Rites Controversy (and thus the unwillingness of Franciscan chroniclers to include discussions of the later seventeenth-century

Chinese missions) were responsible. In his *Vergel de Plantas*, written in the 1670s, Frei Jacinto de Deus gave an overview of Alfaro's failed attempt to enter China. His readers were reminded of the timorous interpreter whose fear made the friars "less understood, Christ ignored, and the pagans more confused, because knowing that it would displease his audience if he showed them to be blind and wrong, and made the false and faked divinity of their idols known, he quieted the truth of the gospel and turned its preaching towards other ends."[21] As a result, Frei Jacinto noted, the worthy Alfaro decided to head for Macau "to live some time among the Portuguese, until he learned the Chinese language" (Deus, 1690: 115-116). To be sure, the issue of language lay at the heart of the Chinese Rites Controversy, although it would perhaps be too much to argue that this was on Frei Jacinto's mind when he wrote about Alfaro's tongue-tied stay in Canton. Frei José de Jesus Maria, who wrote his chronicle in the mid-eighteenth century, also eschews any sustained discussion of the Franciscan missions in China, only listing the names of the friars who entered China from Alfaro's time until his own. He does not elaborate on the activities of these men, whether Spanish, Italian, or Portuguese, but he does refer to the papal bulls related to the Chinese Rites (Jesus Maria, 1941-1950, I: 191-194).

The story of Franciscan failure in Japan is a useful counterpoint to the story of Pedro Alfaro's rejection in China. In Japan, the specter of missionary competition appears clearly, with chroniclers arguing not simply over precedence. At issue were the deaths of the twenty-six martyrs of Nagasaki. The course of events that led to the crucifixions on February 5, 1597, involved many factors, but can be resumed briefly as follows. After completing his conquest of Kyushu in the late 1580s, the military hegemon of Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598), launched an assault on the Korean peninsula in 1592. The considerations of foreign policy made Hideyoshi contemplate the need for overseas vassals or trading partners — that is, some other group beyond the Portuguese. An embassy from the Philippines, led by Franciscan friars chosen for the task by the colonial government, visited the hegemon's court. Desirous to enjoy the Spaniards' friendship and envisioning their fealty, Hideyoshi extended a welcome to the friars —even though he had outlawed Christianity in the island empire in 1587. In view of the fact that Hideyoshi had not enforced his proscription, the Franciscans dismissed Portuguese and Jesuit pleas to refrain from proselytizing. From their base in Central Japan, the friars established a small network of Christian communities in the shadow of the hegemon. The cordial terms of their residence in Japan were overturned abruptly on the occasion of a trade dispute in 1596 over the cargo of a wrecked Spanish vessel *San Felipe*, confiscated on Hideyoshi's orders, when the friars overplayed their diplomatic hand. Allegedly, the Portuguese and the Jesuits in Japan encouraged reprisals against their commercial and spiritual rivals. When Hideyoshi decided to move against the Spaniards and the Franciscans, he did so with an eye on retaining access to the lucrative trade from Macau; Portuguese and Jesuit monopolies were thus preserved. Rather than uproot the Christian plant at once, he exacted an exemplary punishment against the newest shoots, the Franciscans and a number of their lay Christians. Three Japanese who had joined the Jesuits were added to the main group of victims (Elison, 1991: 109-131). Other, equally dramatic episodes of martyrdom would follow. In the event, Jesuits suffered in far greater numbers than friars, whether Franciscan, Augustinian, or Dominican.

As the years passed, the chroniclers who recounted the story of the twenty-six martyrs were keen to point out that Franciscan blood had been the first to fall upon Japanese soil. Moreover, Franciscan sacrifices were more dramatic and their relics more miraculous than those of their rivals. For the chroniclers who had been at the scene in Nagasaki, such as Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, the first challenge was to get the basic facts straight. News from Japan arrived with bursts of pathos in late sixteenth-century Europe, and was eagerly received by readers who had witnessed the Jesuits' parading of four Japanese boys across southern Europe in the mid-1580s.[22] The island empire thus existed in the minds of Europeans as an exotic place, yet one associated with the flowering of the church, not with its tragic destruction. Confusion reigned, Ribadeneira maintained, and it was his job to sort out fact from fiction: "Recently there have been so many authors, whose relations are so varied, that I consider myself obliged to give a report of the truth." (Ribadeneira, 1601: prologue).

As an eyewitness to the martyrdoms, Fray Marcelo could be trusted more than the compilers of news that had passed through several hands before it reached printing presses. The rebuttals of a *testigo de vista* were a useful shield against the friars' accusers, especially the suspicion that they had imprudently awakened Hideyoshi's ire. Ribadeneira responds with entire chapters devoted to the Franciscans' prudence ("very similar to that of the saints") or their relations with the indigenous clergy (Ribadeneira, 1601: 437-443, 446). In taking this approach, he resembles his former colleague, Fray Juan de Santa María (1551-1622), the superior of the Discalced Province of San José in Spain.[23] The preface of Santa María's account of the martyrdoms, *Relacion del Martirio que seys Padres Descalços Franciscos, tres hermanos de la Compañia de Iesus, y decisiete Iapones Christianos padecieron en Iapon* (Madrid, 1601), boasted a long list of *informaciones autenticas* that were his sources. Most important were the reports from the governor of the Philippines, the chief of the *Cabildo*, and the Archbishop of Manila. One notes with some surprise that Santa María leans heavily on a report written by the Jesuit missionary chronicler Luís Fróis (1532-1597) whose letters from Japan were widely read in Europe.[24] Ribadeneira, too, cited Jesuit testimony about the future martyrs' holy way of the life, citing the opinions of the "very learned priests of the Society" who welcomed the friars' presence in Japan (Ribadeneira, 1601: 468-470).

Leaving aside the dramatic scenes, let us look at how the events were recorded in later Franciscan chronicles. After the Tokugawa shogunate proclaimed the edict of expulsion of the Catholic clergy in 1614, the persecution intensified in Japan, leading to significant numbers of martyrdoms among the clergy and hundreds of dead among the laity. Keeping track of the martyrs was a complicated task: Communication with the surviving Christians in Japan became ever more hazardous if not impossible, making it difficult to compile accurate reports of those killed. But the spirit of competition between the religious orders —augmented by a climate of mutual recrimination over whose actions had set off the persecutions— intensified as the years passed.

The war waged between the orders over Japan was thus a war of words over the martyrs' memory. Getting the story straight, in the way Ribadeneira and Santa María attempted to do, was the surest way to advance the official proclamation that would elevate the Japan martyrs into the ranks the beatified. And since the fury of the persecutors continued unabated, it was necessary to keep Rome informed with complete catalogues of martyrs, a task which fell to chroniclers outside of Japan.[25] One such example of this grim accounting was Fray Diego de San Francisco's *Relacion Verdadera, y Breve de la Persecucion, y Martirios que padecieron por la confession de nuestra Santa Fee Catholica en Iapon, quinze religiosos de la Provincia de S. Gregorio, de los Descalços del Orden de nuestro Seraphico P. S. Francisco de las Islas Philipinas* (Manila, 1625). This text addressed the martyrs who suffered between 1613 and 1624, focusing on the Discalced friars from Manila but also including accounts of "many other religious martyrs from other orders and seculars of different statuses." Center stage is nevertheless occupied by the Franciscans, as the author states in his dedication to King Philip IV, patron of the missions: "They came with enflamed desires to suffer for Christ, and now return roasted and burnt by his divine love, made into new Lawrences and Vincents of this new Church of Japan, crowned with a thousand laurels and honored with infinite trophies that they gained by their glorious martyrdoms." The list offered here, which culminates with an account of Fray Luis Sotelo's death in 1624, is presented as definitive, standing in contrast to other reports of the type denounced by Marcelo de Ribadeneira a quarter-century earlier, which were nonetheless still circulating among European readers:

> So many triumphs have produced such variety, and even confusion, about how to report the truth of these happy events. Every day we see it happen. Since all of the witnesses of a public event want to be its chroniclers, the truth becomes clouded, because, *quot capita, tot sententiae*[26], and they all want to tell of it and dress it up in the livery of their ingenuity. This has happened in the telling, writing, and narrating of the martyrdoms of the holy martyrs of Japan, and their true circumstances, and so it seemed very important and necessary to reveal the truth clearly, to separate the dubious from the certain, so that the truth of the story be known and understood (San Francisco, 1625: prologue).

The first point that was clarified in this *Relacion Verdadera* was the order of the martyrdoms, starting with the twenty-six martyrs of Nagasaki in 1597. The dispute between the Jesuits and the Franciscans over precedence again appears in this context. San Francisco refers to this first group as the "holy protomartyrs of Japan", led by Frey Pedro Baptista (b.1542) and his five companions, as well as the "twenty Japanese saints". This reference to an undifferentiated pool of Japanese martyrs was a manifest slap at the Jesuits, who counted the trio of João de Goto, Paulo Miki, and Diogo Kisai among their number. San Francisco continued to list those who died in other early persecutions, claiming that the second group comprised "eight Japanese Christians, baptized by our religious at the court of the emperor of Japan" (San Francisco, 1625: 1v and 3). So not only did this chronicler assert Franciscan precedence in the Japanese martyrdoms, he did so to the exclusion of other religious orders or their lay followers.

Clearly, the martyrological accounting was not an exercise that would disappear quickly as the seventeenth century wore on. Since the intercessory power of the beatified martyrs was at stake —the power that secured special grace for the members of the martyrs' religious orders— friars and Jesuits fought for decades over the memory of Japan. For its part, the Papal Curia approached the task of beatifying the Japan martyrs very slowly. It was only in 1627 —thirty years after the twenty-six martyrs died— that it authorized the public veneration of them as blessed. It was clear that Rome did not appreciate the flood of texts composed by members of religious orders aimed at speeding up its deliberations. Indeed, by the mid-1620s, such was the force of lobbying that Urban VIII (r.1623-1644) prohibited the unauthorized celebration, whether in liturgies or printed books, of any holy men or women, martyrs included. Papal decrees in 1625 (reiterated in 1634) promised severe punishments for those who contravened Rome's will (Ditchfield, 2008). Chroniclers within the religious orders, including the Franciscans discussed here, nevertheless continued to compose histories that included accounts of the Japan martyrs, since their numbers continued to increase well into the 1640s. The crucial point about Urban VIII's prohibition was that new texts could not be published; they could be produced for internal consumption among religious communities as long as they remained in manuscript.

For those martyrs who had already been beatified, celebrations were licit. Since the majority of the Japan martyrs were only beatified in the 1860s, with some recognized only in 1981 and 2008, this meant that the memory of the twenty-six martyrs garnered outsized attention in early modern printed texts. In the late 1630s, Frei Paulo da Trindade (whose text was destined for publication, albeit not until the 1960s) not only retold the story of the Franciscan expedition to Japan and the Nagasaki martyrdom in 1597, but also included a three-chapter discussion on the miracles occasioned by relics of the six Franciscans. Trindade claims that the crucified friars, while still

on their crosses, showed "no ugliness at all", and that, unlike the bodies of other victims, which reeked at four days, "not even at sixty did these emit any bad odors." Not even the crows, known in Japan for being "very carnivorous" and for flocking to dead bodies to "eat their eyes", approached the blessed bodies to despoil them. Furthermore, when a group of Portuguese traders about to head back to Macau forty days after the crucifixion decided to sever a toe from Fray Pedro Baptista, fresh blood flowed from the wound —further proof of the divine favor. Trindade also recorded that mysterious signs began to appear on Friday nights in Nagasaki after February 5, 1597: "Lights like candles were seen heading out in procession from the site of the martyrdom, whence they descended to the leper hospital, the first house in which they lodged in that place, and thence to the hermitage of Our Lady." Others claimed, as the chronicler reported, that Baptista was not dead, since he was seen "on Fridays and Saturdays, saying mass fully dressed at the leper hospital as he used to do, and that one full day he disappeared from his cross" (Trindade, 1962-1967, III: 545-547). Relics were nevertheless gathered by Spanish and Portuguese visitors to the Nagasaki execution ground, items that were to be distributed among Franciscan houses from Manila to Salamanca, and especially to Macau and Bassein, the Indian birthplace of Trindade's Discalced confrere, Frei Gonçalo Garcia (b.1557)[27] (Ibid., 559-561).

It is a testament to the vigor with which early modern religious chroniclers fought their battles of pen and ink that the subject of the Nagasaki martyrs still provoked debate in the 1670s. Frei Jacinto de Deus revisited the issue in his *Vergel de Plantas*, reminding his readers that the first martyrs in Japan were Franciscans, even if they were not the first to arrive there. According to Frei Jacinto: "their zeal would not permit them to not be the first in the spilling of their blood and the sacrifice of their lives." Frei Jacinto felt compelled to reiterate this point because attentive readers of Luis de Guzmán's 1601 Jesuit history of the Japan mission would have noticed a brief mention of four priests who died in early 1590s after being poisoned at Hirado (Guzmán, 1601: II:542). This reference, which is mentioned in the context of other events, is not heralded in Guzmán's text and does not merit its own chapter. Frei Jacinto nevertheless cites that text and mentions "others" who also point to this Jesuit quartet. But he asserts that "even if they died by poison, they cannot be adjudged true martyrs". His argument hinges on the need for *odium fidei*, which he claims did not exist in Japan prior to Hideyoshi's persecution of the Philippine friars. Considering the moments prior to 1597 through distinctly rose-colored glasses, he claims that "at that time the affection for our Holy Faith was growing in the hearts of the Japanese, and in none of them was there any aversion to our Holy Law, nor in the princes hatred for Christ our Lord." Of course, Frei Jacinto admitted, "only God can be the judge of occult matters", but this did not suffice to take the title of protomartyrs away from the six Franciscans crucified at Nagasaki. The best evidence that he could offer was the same that was offered by other friar chroniclers —the recognition of the twenty-six martyrs as the first to die for the faith in Japan was affirmed by "*Padre* Luis Fróis, *da mesma Companhia*" (Deus, 1690: 118-119).

OUT OF THE TOMB OF OBLIVION

The Franciscan chroniclers whose works have been surveyed here sought to preserve the institutional memory of their orders' deeds in Asia during times of upheaval. The early modern missions in China, Japan, and Southeast Asia occurred in lands beyond colonial control, where good relations with the powerful were never certain. Even in the seats of colonial power, the imperial fault line between Portuguese and Spanish dominions made the business of creating religious communities difficult. Conflicts arising from divergences within the Franciscan family further complicated matters: Just as no branch could claim jurisdiction over all friars in the East, so none was sole master of Franciscan memory.

Chroniclers from Portuguese or Spanish origins, or Observant or Discalced provinces had different views on the history of Franciscan efforts. They also had strong views on the relative importance of the work of their brethren as opposed to that of members of other orders, especially the Jesuits. The issues at stake were primarily judged on the basis of precedent and precedence: Who had the longest claim to a presence in the East? Who arrived first? Who made the glorious sacrifice of martyrdom first? These questions could be answered in different ways, and each order's chroniclers took up the pen to advocate their brethren's cause before European readers. But answers were needed. As Frei Paulo da Trindade noted in the conclusion to his *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, points of honor had to be resolved. It was necessary to bring to light the truth about the Franciscans' manifold works in Asia, accomplishments that were "almost buried in oblivion as if they did not count" (Trindade, 1962-1967, III: 567).

Surprisingly, the surge in chronicles of religious orders published in Europe during the eighteenth century did not include specific works on the Franciscans' East Asian missions. There were chronicles devoted to the European provinces, and these are major works of early modern historiography. But there were none recapitulating the friars' work in China, Japan, or Southeast Asia as stand-alone volumes. Recall that even Frei José de Jesus Maria's *Azia Sinica e Japonica* remained in manuscript until the twentieth century. What accounts for the abandonment of the missions by these later chroniclers? Most likely, the staggering number of polemical publications devoted to controversial issues such as the Chinese Rites and the Malabar Rites sapped reader interest for older episodes of missionary conflict —especially since this polemical character was unlikely to disappear from new accounts. The Franciscans would therefore have to endure a long wait for new histories of their missions in East Asia to appear. This is a task that still invites historians to take up their pens.

NOTES

1 A broad discussion of early modern Franciscan historiography with special focus on India is found in Souza de Faria (2013: 199-246).
2 To be sure, Orazio Torsellino (*De Vita Francisci Xavierii*, first ed. 1594) and João de Lucena (*História da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier*, first ed. 1600) had already presented similar points with regard to Xavier. The later texts mentioned here would stress the geography of his actions, as well as those of his followers, rather than Xavier's biography.
3 Documents relating to the medieval Franciscan expeditions to "Tartary" are found in vol. 1 of Van den Wyngaert (1929-1942).
4 The terms *custódio* and *vigairia* refer to Franciscan group of linked communities of friars in a given geographic region. They were considered subordinate to larger *províncias*, but often existed at significant geographic remove from their provinces, especially during the period of Franciscan expansion in Asia in the late sixteenth century.
5 Lisboa's dates are off: The expedition left Avignon in December, 1338.
6 The Reformed Observants were part of the branch of Spanish friars called Alcantarines, after Pedro de Alcantara (1499-1562). Unlike the rest of Europe, which saw a strong surge in Capuchins in the late sixteenth century, Portugal had no properly Portuguese Capuchin houses until the twentieth century (French and Italian Capuchins were present in the seventeenth century in Lisbon). The *Capuchos* refer to the communities as being of the "most strict observance", in contrast to the Conventuals and even the Observants.
7 The articulation of Franciscan administration in Portuguese Asia is discussed in Lopes (1963).
8 Frei Jacinto states that Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* "exists in manuscript in Portugal with the hope it will be printed". This only occurred nearly three hundred years later.
9 This "João Peres de Marchena" seems to be the mixture of the names of two Franciscans who lived in the Franciscan convent of La Rábida, which welcomed Columbus. Historical records indicate a Juan Perez, and an Antonio de Marchena, with former sailing on Columbus's first expedition. The confusion appears to date from sixteenth century works.
10 Indeed, the Franciscans under Frei Henrique de Coimbra's (d.1532) leadership sailed with Pedro Álvares Cabral on his 1500 mission which stopped on the coast of Brazil before heading to India.
11 Further on these early Jesuit missions can be found in Witek and Sebes (2002).
12 Trindade does not mention two other bishops who sailed to India before Vaqueiro. See the notes by Fernando Félix Lopes in his edition of Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, 1962-1967, I: 93-94.
13 The role of Franciscans in organizing the Goan archiepiscopal see, as well as their missionary activity in the region of Goa, is surveyed in Souza de Faria (2013: 109-145).
14 See, for example, Ortelius's 1570 *Asiae Nova Descriptio*, where *Cataio* is located to the north of the provinces of China; John Speed's 1630 *The Kingdom of China*, where *Cathaya* lurks north of the Great Wall; Hondius's 1633 *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula*, which indicates Cathay, with its main cities, off in the northeastern Siberia; Johannes Blaeu's 1650, *Asia noviter delineata*, with *Cathaya* in the same spot.
15 The history of the papal bulls regarding missionary rights in Japan are discussed in Lach (1965-1993, I:2: 705-706 and 718-719).
16 Some of these Philippine friars went to Japan as ambassadors of the Spanish colonial government in Manila, thereby exempting them from Gregory XIII's prohibition. Frei Paulo da Trindade describes the news of Hideyoshi's request for an embassy from Manila as a divine intervention, making it possible for the Franciscans to visit Japan "without disobeying or risking excommunication by His Holiness." (Trindade, 1962-1967, III: 535)
17 Frei Paulo da Trindade also relates the story of the Castilian friars in Cochinchina and Siam, here indifferent to the jurisdictional conflicts between Portuguese and Spaniards in Southeast Asia.
18 The complicated creation of the Franciscan custody of Malacca is discussed in Lopes (1997).
19 Other Portuguese friars took charge of the convent at Macau in the same year. See Fernando Félix Lopes's notes to Trindade, 1962-1967, III: 511, n.1.
20 Further on the Franciscans in Shandong is in Mungello (2001).
21 Determining precisely who this bad interpreter was is very difficult. González de Mendoza mentions a Chinese slave who had been purchased by a Castilian merchant and who accompanied Alfaro, as well as Portuguese-speaking Chinese at Canton. Ribadeneira mentions these two as well, while Trindade adds still more Chinese speakers of Spanish and Portuguese. By the time the story is retold by Jacinto de Deus, all of these individuals were reduced to one interpreter.
22 The Jesuits' publicity efforts in bringing Japanese youths to Europe is succinctly discussed in Elisonas (2007).
23 Recall that the Custody of San Gregorio in the Philippines was separated from the Province of San José in Spain in the years following Alfaro's original journey to the Philippines.
24 Fróis's text was published in Italian, but circulated in manuscript in other languages. See Fróis (1599).
25 Further on this conflict is in Brockey (2014: 378-385).
26 The Latin aphorism means: "There are as many opinions as there are heads".
27 Further discussion of the cult of one of these martyrs, Fray Felipe de Jesús, can be found in Conover (2011).

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In search of "Franciscan" Brazil: memory and territorialization in Friar António Maria Jaboatão's *Orbe Seraphico Brasilico* (1761)

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ABSTRACT: The main objective of this article is the study of the chronicle *Orbe Serafico Novo Brazilico*, by the Franciscan Friar Antonio Maria Jaboatão. The article attempts to study the ways in which the chronicle's textual organization contributes towards a 'Franciscanization' of Brazil, at a time when the Society of Jesus, having been expelled from Portugal in 1759, found itself in a very difficult situation. Even though the idea of a "Franciscan World" has its roots in much older models, Friar Jaboatao's chronicle presents a model of evangelization different from that of the Society of Jesus. He emphasizes the territorial dimension by creating a "geography" of Franciscan churches and convents, thus symbolically appropriating the Brazilian territory.

KEYWORDS: Franciscan historiography; Evangelization of Brazil; "Franciscan" territories.

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RESUMEN: *En busca del Brasil "franciscano": memoria y territorialización en la obra de fray Antonio Maria Jaboatão, Orbe Seraphico Brasilico (1761)*.- El presente trabajo tiene como objetivo analizar la crónica *Orbe Serafico Novo Brazilico* del franciscano fray António Maria Jaboatão. El artículo trata de estudiar cómo la organización textual de la crónica contribuyó a una "franciscanización" del Brasil, en un momento en el que la Compañía de Jesús, expulsada de Portugal en 1759, se encontraba en una situación difícil. Aunque la idea de un "Orbe franciscano" hundía sus raíces en modelos más antiguos, la crónica de Jaboatão presenta un modelo de evangelización diferente del jesuita. Subraya la dimensión territorial, mediante la creación de una "geografía" de las iglesias y conventos franciscanos, apropiándose simbólicamente del territorio brasileño.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Historiografía franciscana; Evangelización de Brasil; Territorios "franciscanos".

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RELIGIOUS AND SERAPHIC HISTORIOGRAPHY: IN THE BEGINNING WERE THE FRANCISCANS…

Published in Lisbon in 1761, six years after the terrible earthquake which shook the Portuguese capital and only two years after the expulsion of the Jesuits, Friar António Maria Jaboatão's (1695-1779) chronicle *Orbe Serafico Novo Brazilico, ou Chronica dos frades menores da provincia do Brazil* is by no means an unknown text. Jaboatão himself is far from an obscure figure (Almeida, 2012): he was an illustrious member of the Academia dos Renascidos, founded in 1759 as a successor to the Academia dos Esquecidos, and he had an established literary reputation[1]. An extensive bibliography, both contemporary and modern, offers us a detailed account of Jaboatão's journey

within the context of the Republic of Letters (as it does for several other metropolitan authors from the Pombaline era), and of his links to the various literary networks of his day, especially those at the heart of the aforementioned Academia dos Renascidos. The Academia sought to write the history of Portuguese America, constructing an identity which highlighted matters specific to the American continent (Kantor, 2004; Cañizares-Esguerra, 2008). This sense of identity had been a feature of the previous Joanine policy, devised in order to avoid jurisdictional conflicts, of defining an "administrative geography" for Brazil (Almeida, 2001). This article only addresses the published section of Jaboatão's chronicle,[2] as the section generally referred to as the "second part", which remained unpublished until the 19th century, demands its own independent study (Almeida, 2012).

Religious historiography of the Early Modern period in its various forms has attracted considerable attention from scholars in recent years, in recognition of these texts' importance as vehicles for self-representation for the different religious orders (Pellegrino, 2009, 2nd vol). It has been shown that the orders used a number of strategies, such as honoring their founders' religious experiences, promoting internal 'holiness', recording the lives of illustrious and virtuous men and women and emphasizing their central pastoral role, to construct spiritual and institutional identities which were important factors for cohesion. Sometimes these were aimed at a wide audience (as in the 'general' chronicles, for example), and sometimes at a local one, within particular territories, in that they tried to accentuate cultural geographies and to configure territories. The latter often occurred in writings produced in the context of evangelization and ultimately contributed to the formation of "regional" cultural identities (Santos, 2008). On the other hand (and even if not always evidently), religious historiography, from the foundational writings to the "histories" of the orders, along with records and memoirs, also served to establish the patrimonial rights and privileges that played an essential role in the political and symbolic construction of the territory (Almeida, 2005). Also in the meaning that Angelo Torre, while discussing the sources 'transparency', gives to the concept of place as a "social and cultural constant construction" (Torre, 2011: 10). In any case, the production of religious chronicles has always included a 'vindicative' dimension, an argument between the different religious orders and congregations, that attempts to underline its greater proximity to Christian perfection, almost always taking into account their respective founders (Artifoni and Torre, 1996). However, we do not aim to stress a "territorial" presence in its geographical sense. Rather, we intend to underline the "ideological" nature of a "discoursive" sacralization of the territory, at a time in which the Society of Jesus had progressively lost relevance, having been expelled from the Portuguese dominions in 1759. The power and wealth of the disseminatory circuits of Jesuit historiography in all its forms (Nelles, 2014) often cause us to forget that "in the beginning, there was Franciscan historiography", to use a memorable formulation which nevertheless does not intend to overlook the subsequent output of the Cistercians, Carmelites and Dominicans. As is well known, the mid-16th century saw the publication of Friar Marcos de Lisboa's *Chronicles* (part I, 1557; part II, 1562; part III, 1570) —"the history of a triumph foretold", according to José Adriano de Carvalho, through which "Europe, even after the works of Pedro Ridolfi (*Historiae Seraphicae Religionis*, Venetiis, apud Franciscum de Francisci, 1586), Francisco Gonzaga (*De Origine Seraphicae Religione Franciscanae*, Romae, ex Tipographia Domenici Basae, 1587) and above all, the extremely learned Lucas Wadding (*Annales Minorum*, Lyon, C. Landry, […], 1625-1635), continued to admire Saint Francis of Assisi and many of his children, from the 13th century until around 1520… the nearly one hundred editions of his work, both in its original and various translations into European languages, attest to its influence"(Carvalho, 2001). The effort Friar Marcos went to prepare his history of the Franciscan Order, evident from the range of documents he consulted, summarized and translated, reveals a commitment to fixing the "memory" of the Order, particularly its origins; the *Chronicles* follow the "flux of the Franciscan movement from the time of St Francis until around 1525" (Carvalho, 2001: 53). It was at that time that the "two Orders of the first rule of Saint Francis" began truly to exist (*ibid*.). In a narrower context, Friar Manuel da Esperança furthered this concern by seeking to legitimize the Observant Franciscans as the most direct "heirs of the authentic spirit of the Seraphic Patriarch" (Fardilha, 2001: 105). His work, in one way or another, revealed the whole of Franciscan historiography to be a mark of belonging to origins which did not need to be legitimized but which nevertheless covered up frequent narrative tensions. José Adriano de Carvalho has already drawn attention to the fact that Friar Marcos of Lisbon was little concerned with evangelization in this first attempt, so broad and at such broad a scale. This is despite the intense climate of apocalyptic messianism which, though more evident at the end of the 15th century, nevertheless continued into the 16th in different, and often ever-less "obvious", ways (Carvalho, 2001: 73). We should not overlook Francisco Gonzaga's "depiction" of the Order, *De Origine Seraphicae Religione Franciscanae* (1587), written in Latin accompanied by iconography. Gonzaga is generally credited as responsible for a kind of "internationalization"[3] of the Franciscan presence (Almeida, 2012), but, as José Adriano Carvalho stresses, "it was not until the 'Fourth Part' of Friar António Daza's *Chronicles*, published in 1611, and which had the "accounting" mentality which would become common in later chronicles (giving the number of monasteries, missionaries, martyrs, conversions and so on), that the few threads "woven by Friar Marcos with regard to evangelization, highlighted principally in the Third Part of his work," were picked up and unravelled again (Carvalho, 2001: 73; Sanz Hermida, 2001). Moreover, it can be argued —barring better judgement— that, especially from Friar António Daza onwards, Franciscan historiography on evangelization acquired a growing tone of persistence, with points of great narrative tension, as if in

some way responding polemically to the hegemonic efforts of Jesuit writing practices —practices which, through chronicles, letters and martyrologies, sought a kind of control over culture, over memory, and over the territories where they evangelized (Curto, 1998: 449). At the time of the 'evangelizing' controversy— which was not just a rift between the Jesuits and the Franciscans —Paulo da Trindade claimed that "our Father St. Francis travelled around India making his journey in almost the same years as he lived in this mortal life" (Trindade, 1962: part I: 14, 73; part II: 14, 67). The dedication to converting Muslims, the references to the five martyrs of Morocco, the vast overseas martyrology which is referred to over the course of the work, the martyrs in the lands of the Reformation (particularly England and France): all of these could, as Carvalho repeatedly points out, revive the Franciscan tradition "in the wake of Joachimite suggestions, 'rewritten *in sede seraphica*'", which conceived the conversion of Muslims and other infidels as an event of the sixth age, and which would be achieved at the cost of many friars' martyrdoms.[4] Research on Trindade, a Franciscan chronicler based in the East, has underlined this aspect, which could symbolically translate into a special prestige for the Franciscans, crowned with the halo of providentialism, which other orders did not enjoy. Studies of his long-unpublished "Spiritual Conquest" (c. 1630), which repeatedly reminds the reader of the primacy of the Franciscans both with regards to their arrival in India ("they were the first to pass to this Orient") and martyrdom ("the first to shed Christian blood in the Orient"), have accentuated the "topical" character of this claim. But so have studies on Friar Jacinto de Deus (Xavier, 2008; Faria, 2011, 2013), who repeatedly reiterates the same pioneerism of St Francis' disciples ("forty-two years before any other religious order" [Deus, 1690: 1-20]) in works like the *Vergel de plantas e flores da Província da Madre de Deus dos Capuchos Reformados*. This "topical" dimension should not be separated from the way the Order faced its destiny and mission, an aspect which, at least from the symbolic point of view, distinguished its evangelizing hallmark from other religious orders (Correia, 2001; Gruzinski, 2012). It should also be pointed out that Friar Fernando da Soledade, in his additions to Friar Manuel da Esperança's work, inscribed the mission in the East within the sphere of a "divine project of universal redemption" based in Joachimism, in which "the presence of the Friars Minor from Portugal in the far-off lands in the East were the means ordained by Divine Providence to carry out the evangelizing drive of the Seraphic Patriarch" —"authorizing, in this way, his identification as an apocalyptic figure of the Angel of the Sixth Seal" (Fardilha, 2001: 117).[5] This view is confirmed in Friar Francisco Negrão and Friar Paulo da Trindade's manuscripts. Indeed, the claim to primacy originates in the work of Friar António Daza, as has already been mentioned, and continues throughout all Franciscan historiography from the Orient to Brazil, establishing an interpretative paradigm which, notwithstanding the chronological differences, can be found for example in Leonor de S. João's manuscript "Tratado da antiga e curiosa fundação do Convento de Jesus de Setúbal". In this manuscript, written between 1630 and 1644, the author notes that Friar Henrique Coimbra was confessor at the convent, and points out that "in the land of Brazil", where "the storm left his companions stranded returning from India, they were the first in that part to preach to divine word, and the Catholic faith, marking with a great cross the place where they first said mass."[6] Arguments like appear almost topical within the sphere of Franciscan writings. Nevertheless, they seem to establish a paradigm of intense connection between the Portuguese monarchy's plans for evangelization and the Franciscan Order (Boadas Llavat, 2002; Pacheco, 2013: 190-193; Almeida, 2012). The role of the Franciscans, particularly in terms of the evangelization of the Orient, has come to be seen as secondary to the better-known actions of the Societyof Jesus, which was committed to constructing and spreading a hegemonic image both in the Orient and in Brazil (Xavier, 2005, 2008; Županov, 2005); we have already underlined the fundamental role which the "construction" of the holiness of Francis Xavier had played in the second half of the 16th century and first half of the 17th as a strategy to draw all of Europe's attention towards the Society's activities. In any case, we know how much the Jesuits invested in writing and circulating Francis Xavier's *Lives*, from Manuel Teixeira's biographical manuscript (1575-1579) to the publications of Torsellini (1594, 1596) and Lucena (1600), in the context of his beatification and subsequent canonization in the same year as that of Ignatius de Loyola (1622), and in the widespread and strategic dissemination of iconography (Osswald, 2008; Torres Olleta, 2009). Along with these, there is one work whose role we do not fully understand —Fernão Mendes Pinto's manuscript *Peregrinação*. While it was only published in 1614, it was known, handled and read in the years immediately after it was most likely finished, around 1580 (Alves, 2010). The Castilian translation, by Herrera Maldonado, tellingly entitled *Historia Oriental*, was hugely successful in Europe and may also have helped to consolidate the image of Jesuit hegemony. The last part of the *Peregrinação* includes a series of chapters which are discursively coherent. (Were it not for this, we might wonder if they had been added later.) In these chapters, he tells of Francis Xavier's greatest miracle, the storm, and writes in detail about his death, noting the various signs —from the prediction of the date to the "smell of sanctity"— that this was a "perfect" death. In any case, the English and Flemish translations did not include this section of Pinto's work, comprehensively "expunging" the Jesuit missionary from the *Peregrinação*. All of these aspects, which require further study, embody a representational paradigm which made the so-called Apostle of the Indies the most widespread model for evangelization in Europe. It is hence interesting to note that Friar Paulo da Trindade, writing the *Conquista Espiritual* at a time when Francis Xavier had already been declared a saint, recovered from previous chronicles the version stating that St Francis of Assisi had also been in India (Trindade, 1962: part I: 14, 73;

part II: 14, 67). Here too, the Franciscans represented themselves as having been the first there, in the sense that "their" saint had explored the region before Francis Xavier. In 1663, in the *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu na Assistência do Brasil*, Simão de Vasconcellos had unsuccessfully presented Nóbrega and Anchieta for beatification in Rome, seeking Jesuit hegemonic harmony between an Apostle of the Indies and an Apostle in Brazil in a symbolic search for dominion on a global scale.

We must bear all of these aspects in mind —the absolute centrality of Francis Xavier to iconographic discourse on evangelization seems particularly fundamental— if we are to understand the full implications of the Franciscan claim to primacy in both India and Brazil. However, in the latter case, it should be pointed out that the Franciscans encountered not only the hegemonic discourse of the Jesuits but also the prestigious image of the Spanish Franciscans in South America (Trias Folch, 1999).

JABOATÃO'S *ORBE SERAFICO, NOVO BRASÍLICO*: BRAZIL AS A FRANCISCAN CONSTRUCT

At first, Brazil seems to be a world apart from India, China or Japan as a region for evangelization (indeed, from the Orient in general), in terms of the connections between the different religious orders, the power structures, and the methods used. However, Jaboatão's chronicle on the history of the so-called Seraphic Order in the lands of Vera-Cruz sought from the outset to fit into the wider history of the Franciscans. Indeed, when discussing his choice of title, he explains that his text does no more than continue the Order's series of written chronicles, drawing attention in particular to Dominique de Gubernatis' *Orbis Seraphicus* (Gubernatis, 1682-1685). As has often been emphasized, particularly by those focusing on the Franciscans in the Orient, the written output of the Order (without narrowing it down to "branches"), can in no way be compared to that of the Jesuits. (At this point, we refer specifically to Portuguese writing, although the situation is similar for other languages and other territories.) The Jesuits, as is again well known, invested in a wide range of methods: not only the written form (in manuscript and print) but also in various disseminatory circuits, which were often secured by founding colleges around the world. When considering the contemporary realities of Brazil, we must bear in mind not just Simão de Vasconcellos' published *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil* (Vasconcellos, 1663) or texts, like Bettendorf's *Chronicle of the mission of Maranhão*, which remained unpublished until the 20th century, but also the great effort put into writing and publishing *Lives* of holy people. These *Lives* sought to do two things: on the one hand, they sought beatification for the "Brazilian" Jesuits (i.e. those active in the region); on the other, they sought to create a kind of "territorial" sanctity, putting great value on Vera-Cruz, a region which from many points of view (perhaps above all symbolically, both in political and religious terms) did not enjoy the prestige still afforded to the Orient. This is despite the fact that, in the 18th century, Brazil was taking the place of India as the economic powerhouse of the Portuguese Empire (Bethencourt and Chaudhuri, 1998; Costa, Rodrigues and Oliveira, 2014).[7]

We must also bear in mind Almeida's aforementioned important and informative studies when thinking about the different meanings, functions and intentions of Jaboatão's chronicle. However, this paper argues that, by highlighting other dimensions of the work, we can offer a more analytical angle on Jaboatão's vast output in the context of religious historiography in Brazil in the Early Modern period. Above all, if we are to understand Jaboatão's strategies and intentions, we must do two things. On the one hand, we must locate it in the context of the decline of the Jesuits, which culminated in their expulsion in 1759. (As far as we know, Jaboatão began writing his text in 1758, and it was published in 1761.) On the other hand, we must draw constant but almost implicit comparisons with the Jesuit model of evangelization in Brazil put into writing by Simão de Vasconcellos nearly a hundred years earlier in the mid-17th century.

ON A TITLE AND A TEXTUAL ARCHITECTURE

The lengthy title which Jaboatão gave to his chronicle systematizes and configures a textual place within the writing practices of the time, which he himself tries to explain by grounding the choice on two fundamental poles: on the one hand, the representation of a Franciscan world (the "Orbeseráfico), and on the other, the construction of a "Brazilian" imagination (the "Novo Brasilico"). This latter term he qualifies as "discovered, established and cultivated by the influx of new light from Italy, Spain's bright star, Padua's shining sun, the greatest star of Francis' heaven, and Portuguese miracle worker St. Anthony, to whom a glorious theatre is consecrated, and Part One of the Chronicle of the Friars Minor of the strictest observance in the Province of Brazil". If the title suggests that the two worlds overlap, both accepting one another, the paratexts open up the space to clarify his ways of writing, alluding to the networks of "literary" and "clientelistic" sociability in which the author moved. The title identifies a kind of Seraphic "planet", set apart by the work of the Franciscans, in an update of the Order's "providentialist" calling, simultaneously emphasizing the importance of Brazil to the Order and affirming the primacy of the Franciscans in the discovery, establishment and "cultivation of the influx of the new light of Italy", proclaiming from the outset the appropriation of a "Franciscanized" territory (Almeida, 2012). The writer's authority is legitimized by his recognized excellence in the literary field —one need only recall his activities in the Academia dos Renascidos— which would have most likely granted him the license to undertake such a task, as indicated by a brief glance at the "*anteloquio*" of his chronicle. Of course, we must not forget the topical dimension of the whole argument of his prologue:

> And if these men of such distinguished rank and learning could not conquer what we now, with our weakness and shortcomings, have managed to achieve, I have more than enough reason to believe that it is not men's disposition, but Supreme Providence, which rejects the wisest and greatest for the most difficult tasks, and often chooses for those tasks the most humble and least noteworthy men, (Jaboatão, 1858: "Preface").

Putting aside the *ficta humilitas*, inscribed in the Franciscan "symbolism" of accentuating "the most humble and the least noteworthy", Jaboatão recognizes that he has unquestionably "succeeded" in fulfilling the task with which he had been institutionally charged and which was most likely linked to his position as an academic in a group which aimed to do no less than write the history of the Americas —a "Brazilian History", in the context of boundary definition, administrative circumscriptions and the controversial application of the Limit Treaty (Neumann, 2004). Notably, the license signed by Friar Estevão Cardoso Telles, dated 3rd January 1760, calls the "author of this work [a] unique geographer", highlighting that it "launches the eyes of consideration by the very extended and fertile field of new Orbe Brasílico, subject to the Supreme Domain of our most faithful monarch". As well as alluding to the Order's compliance with the Portuguese monarchy's plans —a recurrent argument, as has been mentioned, in the work of Franciscan chronicler Marcos de Lisboa, Esperança or Soledade— it is difficult to resist identifying this with the political choices of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis of Pombal at the time, at least those regarding Brazil's protests of fidelity to the "most faithful monarch". Moreover, the different censors showed their praise for the author, "who in the literary sphere has acquired great credit and become lender of the greatest compliments" (Jaboatão, 1858, Fr. João Evangelista's license). Taking into account the date of writing, of the different licenses (granted between 1758 and 1760) and of publication (1761), right in the middle of the Marquis of Pombal's time in office, and precisely during the years when measures were taken which were to cause significant consequences, the decision to create such a broad-reaching title (even if the author claims it merely revived the title *Orbe Serafico* used by Dominico de Gubernatis) cannot but bring to mind the absence of the Jesuits. This is despite the fact that when the Jesuits were expelled on 3rd September 1759 the chronicle was already finished, and undergoing the usual processes of licensing. As we know, the king's relationship with the Jesuits culminated in their expulsion, but this was the result of complex prior events set into motion by the law of 3rd September in opposition to the application of the Limit Treaty. However, we must also note that the Marquis of Pombal's attitude to this complex question changed with his brother's actions in the lands of the Vera-Cruz (Monteiro, 2006: 67-76), and the attempt to 'usurp' the state of Brazil.

The care and attention which Jaboatão put into explaining his title in the paratexts on either side of the main body of the chronicle exceeds what we would usually expect from authors of texts like these. The references to humility and to his (im)probable lack of literary abilities, and to the need for painstaking research of documentation,[8] often considered to be incomplete or inaccurate, are unsurprising. These features are present in all writings of this kind, although the Franciscan "mode" perhaps accentuates a little more the lack of records and documentation.[9] Neither is the dimension of memory which sits above, organizes and structures this identity-constructing work surprising. However, in addition to the strategies that fit with the usual practices of religious historiography, Jaboatão does more than write a "chronicle", in the sense of the dialectic between memory and amnesia in the construction of a "Franciscan" imagination in Brazil. Instead, he opts for a wider-reaching project, eminently understandable at a time of Jesuit decline,[10] and which makes an attempt to conceptualize a Franciscan empire which, in narrative terms, proceeds from the appropriation and sacralization of the Brazilian world. The title *Orbe serafico novo brasílico*, followed by the explicatory *Chronica dos frades menores da provincia do Brazil*, capitalizes upon a comprehensiveness which, even if justified because it was the word chosen by Gubernatis, highlights the Order's worldwide presence, "because in it were contained the Proceedings of the Franciscan and Seraphic Family, spread and dispersed over all four parts of the world, Europe, Asia, Africa, and America" (Jaboatão, 1858: "Preface", III). Furthermore, Jaboatão insists on the idea that Brazil, while only part of America, also sustains this worldwide Franciscan character:

> […] and therefore, with a singular naturalness, this our *Orbe* comes also with the name *New*; and because it deals with the Friars Minor, it will be *Seraphico*, as it was the other [Gubertatis's *Orbe*]; since it concerns the Province of Brazil, should be named, or distinguished by the name *Brazilico*. And taking these reasons together, the title which we have given to our work conforms well with it. And it can not be any opinion against this title which does not degenerate to an impertinent criticism, more scathing than judicious."[11]

As we know, and have already mentioned, the attempt to highlight Franciscan primacy in different contexts of evangelization was not new. Quite the contrary. Although Paulo da Trindade's well-known claims must be located within the controversy of Maffei's attempts to hegemonize the Jesuits' evangelization practices, there is no doubt that the various Franciscan writings on evangelization argue that St Francis of Assisi's disciples arrived first in the various lands —not only before the Jesuits, but also before other religious congregations. It is not necessary to cite the range of Franciscan texts written in the Orient, which have already been studied by Ângela Barreto Xavier, Zóltan Biedermann and Patricia Sousa de Faria (Xavier, 2008, 2014; Biedermann, 2014; Faria, 2013), to mention only the most recent contributions. Focusing specifically on Brazil, it is sufficient to mention Friar Manuel da Ilha's "Narrativa da Custódia de Santo Antonio do Brasil: 1584-1621" (?-1637), which was finished, as far as we know, in 1621. Arguments about its origin are

irrelevant: it may have been a copy of an unknown chronicle on the *Custodia* of Brazil, possibly written by Friar Vicente do Salvador, sometimes considered to be part of the *História do Brasil* and mentioned by many of the Order's historians (Ilha, 1975; Amorim, 2005). It may even, the more likely case (Palomo, 2014) be a copy of Friar Apolinário da Conceição's *Primazia Serafica na Região da America* (Lisbon, 1732), which mirrors the persistent tone of Jabaotao's title: "As the primary purpose of this Treatise is to demonstrate the primacy which my Seraphic Order has had in the glorious conversion of America […]" (Conceição, 1732: "Prologo aoLeitor"). From this point of view, Jaboatão seems to limit himself to reproducing an almost topical argument in Franciscan chronicles, without saying anything new. However, by taking on a global scale while at the same time recovering a present idea from the "story" of the history of the Franciscan Order, Jaboatão reinforces the depiction of the Friars Minor as the "greater" order in the evangelization of Brazil, occupying the symbolic space formerly held by the Jesuits.

A NARRATIVE EMPIRE: TERRITORIAL PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION

The chronicle's evocative title is accompanied by a narrative structure that establishes the "construction" of Brazil as if it were a Franciscan "symbolic" empire. The work is organized in a seemingly unbalanced way: two larger parts, the first of which, the "Preamble" (*Preambulo*), is made up of six "Digressions" (*Digressões*), each divided into "Estâncias", and the second of which is divided into two large blocks by a "Preliminary Book" (*Livro Ante- primeiro*) and by a set subdivided into Book I and Book II (*Livro I&II*), each of which is made up in turn of chapters completed by "Reports" (*Relatorios*), "Certificates" (*Certificados*) and "Additions" (*Aditamentos*) in unequal numbers.

The "Preamble" focuses on discovery and geographic description: "how and by whom it was discovered, its size, its major rivers, and the foundation of its captaincies, cities, towns and villages, and in particular everything which must be covered to fully understand the subject" (Jaboatão, 1858: 2), taking them as "principal objects of all this history, both temporal and spiritual"]. It is divided into five "Digressions", which are longer narrative blocs, which include several "*estâncias*" focusing on the discovery of Brazil and the simultaneous arrival of the Franciscans, and, at greater length, the description of the various indigenous peoples who occupied the territory, giving great detail about their habits and customs. The number of "estâncias" ranges from the three devoted to the arrival of the Portuguese fleet and Friar Henrique Coimbra (both in "Digression I") to the eighteen contained in "Digression IV", which describe the different captaincies. While "Digression III" concentrates on the depiction of the various Indian "tribes" in thirteen "estâncias" (one for each tribe), from the Tapuyas ("Estância I") to the Tobayará ("Estância XIII"), "Digression III" consists of five "estâncias" narrating the life and adventures of Diogo Álvares Corrêa, Caramurú, insisting that it was the Franciscans who baptized the children born of the hero's union with Princess Paraguassu, and who also married two of Caramurú's daughters with two Europeans. The importance attributed to this event and its place in the structure of the text, straight after the account of the discoverers' and the Franciscans' arrival ("Digression I") and the description of the various Indian tribes ("Digression II"), led António Almeida to the following conclusion: "The European man and the Brazilian woman, the primordial man and woman who give birth to a New World. With the blessing of the Franciscans, this *Novo Orbe* will lead to the birth and raising of New Brazilians, or, to be faithful to the language of the chronicler in question, a New Brazil" (Almeida, 2012: 151). The remaining "Digressions" look at "districts and boundaries": "Digression IV" "covers the Captaincies of the State of Brazil from Grão Pará to the River Plate, and the districts and boundaries of each […] in eighteen "*estâncias*", while "Digression V", in five "*estâncias*", lists custodians, provincial ministers and "religious people who have written, and that which is printed and in manuscript"; "Digression VI" adds information that Jaboatão claimed to have received belatedly, and could therefore not include in the proper places.

The second part of the work contains, as already mentioned, a "Preliminary Book" and a First and Second Book. The "Preliminary Book", consisting of sixteen chapters, attempts to tell "the whole story which relates to them [the Franciscans] in this sphere" (Jaboatão, 1858: "Livro Ante-primeiro", 2), recalls again the arrival in Brazil ("Show[ing] how this new sphere was discovered, cultivated and established by Friars Minor, who were the first to arrive"), and defines a timeline that goes from 1500 to 1585, the date of the foundation of the first house of Olinda. However, Jaboatão adds that he will also talk of missions, of the "exquisite" death of some friars and, despite previously defining his timeline, of "a brief summary of more, right up to the present"; this occupies Chapter XIV, beginning in 1585. It is in this part of the "Preliminary Book", immediately in Chapter I, that he takes up the theme of Brazil as a paradise once more, though cautiously; he does not go as far as to identify the land with the text of Genesis, which had previously led to the Jesuit Simão de Vasconcellos' text being censored (Holanda, 1992; Ramos, 2001; Santos, 2001, 2008):

> A fertile land, a beneficial climate, a cheerful air, favorable skies, and a new world, where its Author appears to sometimes amend some verses from today, and of the stars of the old world; because here the day speaks, and it also runs through the night; the breeze tempers the heat, and neither is winter too cool nor summer too warm. A new world, no less, and such a well-disposed season for the innocent man, who wished to plant in it the earthly Paradise, or at least describe it with the excellencies and prerogatives of an earthly Paradise, (Jaboatão, 1858: 5).

The different chapters expand on themes already covered in the "Preamble", at times almost repeating them, at

other times providing more detail and discussing issues such as the well-known expression "*sem lei, sem rei, sem fé*" ("without law, without king, without faith") and its non-absolute correspondence with the absence of the letters F, L, R, in the sense that, Jaboatão claims, the R "is one of the most used in their language" (Jaboatão, 1858: 8). He insists upon the "spiritual conquest of Brazil", trying to append "all that we judge to be sufficient to be able to verify not only their primacy in this spiritual conquest, but also how they have cultivated it since those beginnings, in the space of fifty years, and the great work they undertook" (Jaboatão, 1858: 8). Jaboatão also discusses the nationality of some missionaries, quoting sources such as Jorge Cardoso's *Agiológio Lusitano* (Chapter VI), and the Franciscans' arrival in various places such as Bahia and Olinda, after which he sets out at length Friar Pedro Palácios' "exemplary penitent life" (Chapters X-XII), looking at the years between 1549, "in which the first Jesuit missionaries arrived in Brazil, to 1585, when our Order founded its first convent in Olinda" (Jaboatão, 1858: 31). By noting the Jesuits' arrival in Brazil, he traces a line which defines the chronology of the different orders' arrival in Brazil: first the Franciscans —"At the first hour, and so at *primo mane*, that is at the break of day, at the same time as the light of the Sky broke out, God sent the first workers of this vine to the place called Brazil, Father Friar Henrique de Coimbra and his companions, as has been mentioned elsewhere, in the year 1500." After this came the Societyof Jesus: "after […] the *Tertia* hour […] the second order of Workers […] the Reverend Jesuit Priests, in the year 1549"]. Despite arriving later, they did not work any less hard; "the vine of Brazil and its spiritual cultivation" are due to both the Jesuit and Franciscan families (Jaboatão, 1858: 32). Much later "came the Carmelite Observants, in 1580" and "even later, the Friars of the Great Patriarch Saint Benedict, in 1581"; finally, "much later, came the Reverend Priests of Saint Philip Neri, who, as they were the last, arrived with all the work already done." Interestingly, Jaboatão's positive attitude towards the Jesuits' work in Brazil is not a one-off; a similar view is expressed elsewhere, if not often, such as when he refers to Father António Vieira as "great", to Simão de Vasconcellos's chronicle of the Society, and to the fact that Friar Pedro Palácios had a Jesuit confessor (Jaboatão, 1858: 39). Nevertheless, the text, like other chronicles, recalls (in appendices entitled "Reports") the disagreements between Franciscans and Jesuits (Jaboatão, 1858: 60), invariably won by the former, recording the pervasive climate of competition and controversy during the process of evangelization (Bettendorf,1990). Report III, "On the works, persecutions, exiles, deaths and other misfortunes which the Friars Minor of the *Custodia* of Brazil endured and on what they had worked on all this time, which was tyrannized by the Dutch heretics in the captaincy of Pernambuco and its surroundings", completed by several "Certificates" which attest to the Franciscans' brave presence in the battles against the "heretics", precedes the last chapter (the Preliminary Book's sixteenth), which tells "[o]f what else the Friars Minor of this province worked on, from the Restoration of Pernambuco to the present day".

Book I, made up of five chapters, revisits the same themes, focusing on the personalities of the Franciscans sent to Brazil, the foundation of monasteries and the figures considered to be fundamental to the Order's establishment in Brazil, such as in Chapter V, "Recalling the illustrious hero Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, the Lord and holder of Pernambuco". "Book II" continues in the same vain, recounting over the course of thirty-five chapters the "excellencies the House of Our Lady of the Snows of Villa de Marim and the City of Olinda, as well as those of this Province, of which Olinda was the Capital […]" and "exemplary lives", focusing in particular on Fr. Melchior de Santa Catarina (Chapters III-XV) and Friar Francisco de S. Boaventura (Chapters XVI-XVIII). Chapters XIX-XXIX cover the lives of several other friars; Chapters XXX-XXXIII, the "Beginnings and progress of the Venerable Third Order of Penance and the House of Our Lady of the Snows" (Chapter XXX) and other chapels and miracles (Chapters XXXI-XXXIII); Chapter XXXIV "a miraculous case, to which we can attribute the events at the House of Our Lady of the Snows in Olinda". Finally, in an "Original Addition Patent from the most Reverend Friar Francisco Gonzaga, to bring the Friars Minor to Brazil to found convents" (Chapter XXXV), the work reaches its end.

As this brief description shows, the textual architecture of the chronicle is not sequential or chronological, but rather progresses in an almost circular way. The first part, the Preamble, defines the macrostructure, making clear the "mixture" of the discoverers and the Franciscans and defining the "spiritual" nature of Brazil. It is also something of a a geographic "reconnaissance" of the territory, bringing to the fore the other "mixture" —almost as symbolic as the first— represented by an origin that combined European and Indian blood in the descendants of Caramurú and Catarina, blessed by the disciples of St Francis of Assisi.[12] The space given over to this narrative, immediately following the "reconnaissance" of the territory and the long description of the all the "tribes" of natives, evokes the illustriousness of Caramúru's adventures, binding them to the Franciscan world in Brazil and conferring it with an almost mythical status: in the beginning were the Franciscans (in the spiritual domain), and Caramúru and Catarina (in the temporal one). Moreover, Jaboatão takes great effort to dismantle another version of the story which, in his words, attributed to the Jesuits the baptism of DiogoÁlvaresCorreia's children and the marriage of his daughters. We must be aware of the the "territorializing" dimension of this association which, in a way, makes the Franciscans more "Brazilian" in their claims to independence from their European counterparts.[13] The second part of the work focuses on the Franciscan "history" in Brazil, returning to every one of these themes, through additions and a spiritual "territorialization" which turns Brazil into a Franciscan "land" in its origin, in its essence, and in the process of defining its frontiers. Jaboatão had already presented in the afore-

mentioned "Preface" a kind of narrative program, justifying "the phrasing, style, method and order" he would follow. He establishes that the order and method "shall conform to the passage of the years, and the foundations of convents", adding "all the events concerning the friars and through which their virtues flourished", in line with a writing practice which makes the *Chronicle* a true *Flos Sanctorum*, with an exemplarity that functions above all for "internal consumption" as the mark of an aspired perfection, often imitating the founders' best-known "virtues". On the other hand, we must note that the narrative structure does not make use of fabulations, although any writing of this kind is by nature a "representation" of reality, not intending to reflect the exact facts but rather the facts as he wanted them to be remembered. On the one hand, such fabulations could be considered an attempt to captivate the reader, but on the other they could project collective memories, connecting them directly to Franciscan presence. In any case, the text seems to allow for the hypothesis that Jaboatão felt the repetitions and reiterated thematic accounts to be a weakness of a text which is in fact far from sequentially organized. Furthermore, he resorts to a wide range of types of text —digressions, "*estâncias*" books, additions, reports and certificates to name but a few— which may in some way be connected to the literary practices of the time, which were characterized by a style of writing concerned with neither clarity nor discursive transparency, and which translated the difficulties in organizing information (or the attempts to do so) in "different", "ingenious" ways into an imitation of the many Baroque texts which sought to surprise and delight their readers. Jaboatão himself points out that he does not follow the natural "order" of the captaincies, because he sometimes recounts the founding of monasteries, and elsewhere limits himself to recording the progress of the missions in which the Franciscans often had primacy:

> In the discourse of this history we will need that I go with the narrative in each of the Captaincies of the Province of Santa Cruz, or Brazil, and because there we cannot do it according to the order,which follow each other, because we need to speak on them when we get there, with the foundations of convents, or in which there weren't, when the other they take us by any reason, such as the religious who, first of some other, went to them with their Missions, and this cannot be in conformity with order and situation they keep between them; with this we want demarcate now, to avoid later embarrassment, or any other occasion, that can enjoy the thread of History, (Jaboatão, 1858: 56).

One of the aspects of the *Orbe Brasílico* that stands out within the architecture of the work is the mimetic effort of running through the administrative organization of Brazil and the network of Franciscan monasteries. In this, each monastery is associated with the formation of each circumscription, as if the establishment of the Order had always followed territorial changes, in a kind of sacralization of the space. If that marks the trajectory of the different "*estâncias*" around which each "Digression" is organized, as if this were a reconnaissance mission around the territory, the reference to the Captaincy of Porto Seguro may be significant. Jaboatão, justifying the absence of a Franciscan monastery and the presence of a Jesuit "house" since 1553, underlines that "our priests were also repeatedly and persistently sought out by the residents of Porto Seguro to found a Convent there, putting forward several arguments of some gravity, as that was the first part of Brazil that our people had trodden with their feet, illuminated with the light of the Gospel, sanctified with the Sacraments of the Church and irrigated with their blood" (Jaboatão, 1858: 84). The allusion to this mark of primacy, emphasized in the accumulation of topics known and repeated in the religious chronicles (stepping foot on pagan land, bringing the light of the Sacred Scriptures, sanctifying the territory with the blood of martyrs), shows how the narrative and authorial axes slide from a kind of sacralizing cosmogony of space to the ideological construction of belonging. The "Digressions", made up of any number of "*estâncias*" draw a map of Franciscan Brazil that offers much more than the foundation of convents and seeks to put forward a strategically tight, cohesive network that almost ignores the other religious congregations, even while making fleeting references to Simão de Vasconcellos' *Chronicle*, which it sporadically corrects.[14] Jurisdictional questions are in no way overlooked in the *Orbe Brasílico,* from the wish, approved by the Holy See, that "the Holy See's visitors, and the presidents of chapters, were its Brazil's very children" (thereby avoiding controversies and serious disagreements), to searching for the deeds of donations confirming ownership and territorial limits. As is the case in many of the so-called "foundational writings", the *Orbe Brasílico* takes the opportunity to organize memories and fix records, privileges and patrimonial rights: "The most that this Text [record of donation] contains are the agreements, pacts and donations with which they donated the lands where the said brothers wanted to found their monasteries […]" (Jaboatão, 1858: 198).

THE CONSTRUCTION OF "FRANCISCAN" SANCTITY IN BRAZIL

Jaboatão highlights in several places the rigorous adherence to poverty and the complete renunciation of property by the friars whose behaviorhe holds in esteem. From this point of view, the emphasis he gives to the narration of exemplary lives is not far removed from common practice. When studying Friar Manuel da Esperança's chronicle, Luís de SáFardilha drew attention to the emergence of a model of compositional techniques in religious chronicle writing, especially in the so-called "foundational writings". Jaboatão's work also is loyal to this model, although is not strictly speaking a "foundational writing" but a compilation that makes the text into a mosaic composed of practically everything that was important to accentuate Brazil's dimensions as a Franciscan empire, at a time when the Jesuit hegemony was shrinking irremediably. The structuring stages indicated are:

> 1. Establishment of the historical circumstances surrounding the foundation of the monastery: identity and motivations of the founders or patrons and survey of the legal texts that define the organizing principles of community life; 2. Physical description of the buildings and sites where they were built; 3. Historical trajectory of the monastic community, from the beginning up to the time of writing, and description of relevant events; 4. Biographical memoirs of venerable friars and nuns who are in any way connected to the monastery, (Fardilha, 2001: 103-119).

Although in the case of the *Orbe Brasílico* these stages are not sequential, the last part, entitled Book II, is a lengthy compilation of Lives which makes use of this method, following a practice that makes religious chronicles valuable repositories of "heroic" biographies which sought to emulate the saints of the Order or the congregation who were held up as models (Luongo, 2000; Cavalotto, 2009). Jaboatão does not abandon this technique of sanctifying figures, which is so common to religious historiography; he creates a gallery of portraits which naturally begins with the Casa de Olinda, providing examples of perfection and heroism in the context of the Dutch invasion:

> BOOK II. On some of the excellences of the Casa de N. Senhora das Neves da Villa de Marim and the City of Olinda, and also those of this Province, of which it was capital, and of the brothers, who led exemplary lives, embodied Christian virtues, and showed holy faith, and on other events worthy of memory, (Jaboatão, 1858: 199).

The list of different missions and monasteries, with their names and dates, illustrates the constant progress of the Province of Santo António do Brasil from its very beginnings, forming, in the words of the author, "a body" of which Olinda was "neck and head."[15] In addition to the many children of the Province who made their name through writing, many others had been "[s]hields of holiness, and virtue, many living and facing death in various places and Convents elsewhere […], or becoming martyrs for their cause". Moreover, many of the chapters included in Book II must be read in the light of Chapter II ("There are in the monastery of Olinda many religious men of virtue and holiness"). This chapter is cautioned by Jaboatão's repeated claim that he found a "memoir" noting the absence of records of exemplary lives, in places where they have proliferated: "There are many religious men endowed with great virtues and the gift of letters, who professed and resided in this holy Convent of Our Lady of Neves, which have glorified and adorned this our holy Province of Santo Antonio do Brasil, and some of them are buried in this Convent, after living there renowned for their holiness and great virtue, and about whom we do not write here, because our ancestors failed to leave any memories of them: it is only passed to us through tradition that there are many holy and virtuous men resting in this Convent" (Jaboatão, 1858: 207). The list of illustrious biographies begins with the "Life of Father Melchior de Sancta Catarina, first Custodian and founder of this Province of Santo António do Brasil". Jaboatão follows the discursive structure of this type of narrative, lingering on Friar Melchior's genealogy, birth and upbringing. Although he begins by admitting some doubts about the origin and even the place and date of his birth, Jaboatão ends up following (although not thereby dispelling doubt) Friar Thomaz da Presentação's version which, like most chronicle "hagiographies", highlights Friar Melchior's noble origins ("his ancestors were the heads of the House of Britiandos"[16]) and his parents' virtues, particularly his mother's, describing in detail the care with which she tended to her son's spiritual and religious education. This is the most common theme in hagiographizing topics, though there seems to be a particular emphasis on the mother as a spiritual mentor and educator compared to other hagiographies. The other details mentioned, from intellectual ability to the suffering caused by hairshirts and fasting, constitute a well-known model of virtuosity, but in this case Jaboatão pays special attention to Friar Melchior's observation of poverty and his willingness, even as a child, to share, thus constructing a model of renunciation and "inclination" for the poor which naturally evokes the emblematic example of Francis of Assisi. Moreover, Friar Melchior's exemplarity recovers a model of mortification of the flesh, which has more expression and importance here than in the biographical accounts of the Jesuits in Brazil written by figures like Simão de Vasconcellos, in whose work that dimension is either completely disregarded or is mentioned as secondary to the missionary dimension. In Jaboatão's model of exemplarity, poverty, mortification and humility acquire an evocative connotation that emulates the model represented by Francis of Assisi, no doubt because it was about a founder, the "origin" of the order in Brazil; the Jesuit examples are constructed, naturally, in the shadow of Francis Xavier, who had projected himself from India onto Brazil as a less prestigious space from political and religious points of view.[17] Friar Melchior is inscribed in a framework that privileges the strict observance of poverty, the renunciation of material possessions, obedience, vows of silence, temperance, mortification practices,[18] and humility, "because the good Novice was always found obedient without replicates humble without repugnance, cheerful without disgust, and always serene without disturbance, with an agile and ready docility, which is what with more energy, explains and makes known the unfeigned virtue, and that is legitimate daughter of the true spirit" (Jaboatão, 1858: 230). His rigorous compliance with the Rule of St Francis, underlined several times in Jaboatão's account, naturally evokes a fascination with the perfection of the earliest days which is mentioned in all chronicles, leading in time to deviations, quarrels and disputes. As we know, such disputes were current not only among different religious congregations, but in the the case of the Franciscans within the different branches of the Order, all of whom claimed to be more loyal to the original model. Almost a century earlier, Simão de Vasconcellos had characterized the first "Brazilian holiness"

around two essential poles, Nóbrega and Anchieta, sharing Jaboatão's interest for the list of "illustrious and virtuous" lives. He had considered them to be the engines driving the first years of Jesuit evangelization, less controversial and therefore deprived of some initial "purity". Interestingly, Jaboatão also selects the first person responsible for the Order in Brazil (Friar Melchior de Santa Catarina) and a model of evangelization, Friar Francisco de S. Boaventura, who preferred preaching and converting the native peoples to any other occupation. He became, eventually, the second founder of the Custody in Brazil (Jaboatão, 1858: "Chapter XVII: In which the most venerable Father Francisco de S. Boaventura is named the second founder of the Custody of Brazil, and of the work he carried out until his blessed death"). Like Anchieta, Friar Francisco also had the gift of "tongues", surprising the gentiles with his accurate command of their language.[19]

The lives of the various different friars, some held up as "living saints", although mentioned as exemplars in various places throughout the chronicle, are mostly found in Book II. The biographies are mostly quite short, except for those of Friar Melchior de Santa Catarina and (in less detail) Friar Francisco de S. Boaventura.

BUILDING A FRANCISCAN BRAZIL

In her work *Esquecidos e Renascidos. Historiografía acadêmica luso-americana, 1724-1759,* Íris Kantor concludes that Portuguese-American writers in the Pombaline era resisted trends to secularize historiographic discourse, at least in terms of scholarly techniques —trends which sought to harmonize theological-political paradigms with enlightened conceptions of history and which interpreted this position as a way to "claim privileges of immemorial possession of land, but also to attribute new meanings to the learning of colonization". Jaboatão's chronicle can be considered an excellent topic for the discussion of religious historiography in the context of the Enlightenment. In terms of compositional technique, based in compiling and organizing materials, there are no great differences in the weight of documental research found in 17th-century chronicles. Jaboatão obviously emphasizes the number of documents gathered, while simultaneously complaining about their scarcity. He occasionally discusses them, as his predecessors had done in the previous century and the first half of the 18th century, but generally accepts the information in the documents at face value, especially records and donations —undoubtedly an important part of chronicle accounts— which ensured privileges and rents. There are few traces in the chronicle of an "enlightened" view of historiographic writing, although it is curious that Jaboatão, in his role as an experienced scholar, clearly distinguishes the most pompous style of panegyric from the style of historiographic discourse which was considered simpler. In any case, the structural organization of the account, the constant remissions and the appeal to different forms of text —which do not mask the repetitive nature of many descriptions— are part of normal Baroque writing methods. These methods valued *ingenium* as a compositional technique, in the sense that the same themes (the "Franciscanization" of Brazil since its discovery; the Franciscan presence in the different administrative circumscriptions; the exemplary nature of the members of the Order), in different forms, seek to occupy all the empty spaces —somewhat obsessively— in the text. Indeed, the model of perfection which Jaboatão puts forward owes nothing to the "enlightened" pieties of the pared-down "Jansenizing" style. As he sought to show, the text articulates a paradigm of affective piety, which is clearest in the biography of the first Custodian, Friar Melchior de Santa Catarina, who was sensitive to mortification practices, hairshirts and fasting and to the observation of the strictest poverty, establishing a model of sanctity that differs from the more active Jesuit model but was removed from the "enlightened" versions which were hostile to the excesses of Marian devotion, tears, the affective which Friar Melchior showed. It cannot be forgotten that Jaboatão draws particular attention to the first Custodian, the founder —he who, in a certain way and with due caution, sought to "replicate" the image of Francis of Assisi. That is undeniable. But there do not seem to be any traces of "enlightened" piety in Jaboatão's descriptions. In any case, the most consistent characteristic of the work seems to be the "territorialization" of Brazil, at a time when borders were the object of much discussion. If the administrative division forged an "American" personality for the region of Vera-Cruz, the Franciscan monasteries and foundations conferred on it the spiritual personality of the sons of Francis of Assisi. While the other Franciscan chronicles claimed a primacy that the Jesuits actively challenged, Jaboatão's text sought to construct a Seraphic Brazil, where the Jesuits, the builders of a spiritual empire, no longer had any place.

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NOTES

1 The biography of Friar António Maria Jaboatão is well known nowadays, following the significant informative work carried out by Marcos António de Almeida. Indeed, much of the data used here has been taken from that study, thereby dispensing with the need to resort to (Almeida, 2012: 27-57). António Coelho Meireles was born in the parish of Santo Amaro de Jaboatão in Recife, Captaincy of Pernambuco, in 1695, son of the sergeant-major Domingos Coelho de Meireles and Francisca Varela. He studied Humanities under the tutelage of his uncle Agostinho Coelho Meireles, vicar of the parish between 1710 and 1715. On 12th December 1717, he entered the Monastery of Santo Antônio de Paraguaçu of the Franciscan Order of Bahia, where he studied theology and philosophy. In 1725 he was ordained in Pernambuco. He was master of novices in the Monas-

tery of Igarassu in Pernambuco, professor of philosophy, in Bahia (1737), guardian in the Convent of Santo António in Paraíba from 1741 to 1742 and from 1751 to 1753. He was definitor in the Monastery of Santo António in Recife in 1755 and, in that same year, appointed head chronicler of the Order. He died in Bahia on 7th July 1779. Of the many works covered by Marcos António de Almeida's exhaustive study the following manuscripts are worthy of mention: "Nous avons pu répertorier quatre manuscrits de Jaboatão. L'un d'eux, la deuxième partie de sa chronique, a été publié par l'*Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* au XIXe siècle, entre les années 1859 et 1862. Le deuxième, la *Genealogia* ne sera publiée qu'en 1985, par l'État de Bahia. Par contre, Jaboatão avait gardé plusieurs manuscrits qu'il avait rédigés sur des thèmes divers. Il était persuadé de l'importance de ses idées et les a rassemblés sous le titre d'*Obras Academicas*" (Almeida, 2012: 58-59). Some examples of printed works, *Discurso histórico, geográfico, genealógico, político e encomiástico, recitado em a nova celebridade, que dedicaram os pardos de Pernambuco ao santo de sua cor o B. Gonçalo Garcia.* Lisbon, 1751; *Sermão da Restauração de Pernambuco do domínio holandês, pregado na Sé de Olinda em 1731*. Lisbon, 1752; *Orbe Seráfico Novo Brasilico, ou Chronica dos Frades Menores da Província do Brasil*. Lisbon, 1761. *Sermão de Santo Antonio.* In *O dia do Corpo de Deus*. Lisbon, 1751; *Sermão de S. Pedro Martyr, pregado na matriz do Corpo Santo do Reciffe.* Lisbon, 1751; *Josephina Regio equivoco-panegyrica, trespraticas e um sermão do glorioso Patriarcha S. José, offerecidos ao Serenissimo Rei D. José I, pregados na Igreja matriz da Paraiba*. Lisbon, 1755; *Gemidos seráficos. Exéquias celebradas pela Província de Santo António na morte do fidelíssimo rei D. João V*. Lisbon, 1753; *Jaboatão Mystico, em correntes sacras, dividida em: corrente primeira, panegyrica e moral*. Lisbon, 1758.

2 The work was published again in 1858 by the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute in two volumes. For convenience quotations will be taken from this edition alone, however when necessary, references will be made to the first edition, of which copies exist in the Porto Municipal Library and the University of Coimbra General Library. In 1859, the second unpublished part of the work was later published with the title: *Orbe Seráfico Novo Brasílico or Chronica dos frades menores*. Second part (unpublished), Rio de Janeiro, v. I in 1859, followed by the publication of the other two volumes, the v. II, in 1861 and v. III in 1862.

3 Almeida, 2012: "L'année 1587 inaugure ce que nous considérons comme le début d'une histoire franciscaine organisée d'une façon mondialisée au sens moderne du terme: expansion et occupation des quatre parties du monde. Introduisant un Brésil jusque là absent de la géographie franciscaine, Francisco de Gonzaga va compléter la géopolitique de l'ordre".

4 Let us recall the words of P. di G. Olivi: "nel sesto anno della sua conversione come Ângelo del sesto sigillo e come segno che per mezzo del suo ordine nel sesto stato della Chiesa devono essere convertiti a Christo; poi di nuovo, per una terza volta, nel tredicesimo anno della sua conversione, come segno che nel tredicesimo segno della passione e della ressurezione di Christo" (apud Carvalho, 2001: 76).

5 Soledade (1705: 488-489): "Descuberta, & jà vadeada a carreyra da India pelo illustre, & sempre memoravel Dom Vasco da Gama, (…) determinou o afortunadissimo, & muyto glorioso Rey D. Manoel conquistar aquellas regiões remotas para Deos, & para si. E repartindo o cuydado desta empresa pelos sugeytos que lhe pareciaõ mais idoneos para o desempenho, encõmendou a conquista das almas ao veneravel P. Fr. Henrique de Coimbra, & a outros sette Frades, todos da nossa Provincia. (…). Foy aprasivel a todos a eleyção dos nossos Religiosos; porque àlem de seu zelo, que era notorio, consideravam que a puresa do seu estado humilde, & pobre havia de confundir a cegueyra dos idolatras (…). Quãdo mais, que a conversaõ dos Indios nos pertencia por direyto, pela posse que della tinha tomado N. Patriarca Serafico, quando assistindo em Italia, por virtude Divina foy visto em Regorà, terra de Bengala, aonde prometeu vida muyto extensa, & mocidade perenne a hum Gentio em remuneraçaõ de o passar em seus hombros em hum rio, braço do famoso Ganges. (…) E posto que não penetramos os segredos profundissimos da Divina Providencia, bem podemos suspeytar que assi como mostrou a Abrahão a terra, que havia de ser senhoreada por seus descendentes, tambem querendo consolar a nosso Patriarca glorioso (…), ordenou que fosse ver com seus olhos os dilatados campos, em que seus filhos haviaõ de conseguir famosos triunfos; os milhões de milhões de almas, que haviaõ de converter, as caudalosas correntes de sangue que haviaõ de derramar em testemunho da Fé, exaltação do nome de Christo, & trofeo de sua doutrina sagrada. E por ventura que este fosse o Anjo, que vio S. João com o sinal de Deos vivo, ou com as suas Chagas, caminhando da parte do Oriente, & clamando a outros Espiritos celestiaes que suspendessem os flagelos, em quãto assinalava os servos do Senhor, por não perecerem todos a impulsos da vingança Divina: porque jà na figura do mesmo Anjo conhecerão disfarçado a N.P.S. Francisco o Papa Leão X. S. Boaventura, S. Bernardino, & muytos Doutores Ecclesiasticos". ["Discovered and already waded the career of India by renowned, & always memorable Dom Vasco da Gama, (…) the very fortunate and glorious king D. Manuel determined to win those remote areas to God,& for him. And sharing the care of this company by men that seemed to him the most suitable for performance, ordered the conquest of souls to the venerable P. Friar Henrique de Coimbra, & the other seven Friars, all of our Province. (…) It was pleasant to all the election of our Religious; because in addition to their zeal, which was notorious, they considered that the purity of their humble and poor state will confuse the blindness of idolaters (…).When more than the conversion of the Indians belonged to us by right, by the possession that had taken our Seraphic Patriarch, when, watching in Italy, was seen in Regorà by divine virtue, land of Bengal, where he promised very long life and perennial youth to a Gentile, because he passed him over on his shoulders in a river, the famous Ganges arm (…) And since we don't penetrate in the very deep secrets of Divine Providence, we may well suspect that just the earth was showed to Abraham, that he should be lorded by his descendants, also wanting to console our glorious Patriarch (…) he ordered him to be see with his eyes dilated fields, where their children had to get famous triumphs; the millions of millions of souls who will be converted, the torrential streams of blood that they will drain pouring torrential as witness to the Faith, exaltation of Christ's name, & trophy of his sacred doctrine. And perhaps this was the Angel, which saw John with the living God sign, or with his wounds, walking from the East, and calling the other heavenly Spirits to suspend the scourges while marked the servants of the Lord, to not perish all with the impulses of divine vengeance: because in the figure of the same Angel, they knew disguise our Seraphic Father Francis, Pope Leo X, Saint Bonaventure, Saint Bernardino, & many ecclesiastical Doctors."].Cf. Carvalho (1991: 66).

6 São João, Leonor de, *Tratado da antiga e curiosa fundação do Convento de Jesus de Setúbal*, fol.78. (Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Cód. 7686). For other copies: Pacheco, 2013: 28-35.

7 Let us recall that, unlike India, the king's representative in Brazil did not have the same title as that of the state of India. Brazil had its first viceroy in 1640 and the territory only became a viceroyalty in 1714 (V. Costa; Rodrigues; Oliveira, 2014: 137).

8 Jaboatão, 1858: "Preface", V: "Sobre a citaçaõ de Authores, não duvidamos ser notados de o fazermos muito poucas vezes; mas será por aquelles, que naõ advertirem, escrevemos a Historia primitiva de huma Provincia, da qual se naõ escreveo athégora por author algum, e só naõ aproveitamos para ella, das noticias da mesma Provincia, e nem estas as achamos em livros, ou quadernos, ordenados com títulos, capítulos, e numeros, e só em alguns papeis, e assentos avulsos, e por isso muitas vezes, ou quasi sempre, os não apontamos á margem". ["About the citation of Authors, we n doubt to be noticed that we do this very few times; but it will be for those who do not warn, write the early history of a Province, which is not written so far by any author, and just do not take to it the news of the same province,

and even these we don't find in books or notebooks, ordered with titles, chapters, and numbers, and only in some papers, and single judgment, and so often, oral most always, we don't not point it in margin"].

9 Vasconcellos (1663: 128); Santos (1710: Prólogo).

10 Interestingly, Friar António Maria Jaboatão states that he wrote the text quickly, in just two years, seeking to exculpate himself of stylistic faults or errors. Regardless of the licensing times, the reader could always speculate that what had happened to the Society and which culminated in the expulsion in1759, and would provide surely the right time to claim a Franciscan Brazil, although Frei Jaboatão refers without acrimony-and even he follows them promptly -the writings of Simon de Vasconcellos, especially the *Crónica da Companhia de Jesu no estado do Brasil*: "Outra censura mais, e talvez causa das muitas, que poderáõ cahir sobre esta escrita, he o pouco tempo, que tomamos para ella, porque, se o quizerllos reduzir a annos, naõ se poderaõ contar por muitos, pois ainda agora, que a completamos, naõ chegaõ a dous e sendo nós o proprio amanuense, e escrevendo da nossa letra dous volumes deste theor, álem de outros muitos traslados, como em similhante especie he preciso" (Jaboatão,1858: "Preface", V) ["Another more censorship, and perhaps because of the many that will fall on this writing, is the short time we take to it, because if you want to reduce they ears, shall not be able to account for many, because even now that it's completed, they are only two and we were the own amanuensis, and writing with our letter two volumes of this content, as well as many other transfers, as in similar species is necessary"].

11 (Jaboatão, 1858: "Antiloquio, IV"): "e por isso, com uma naturalidade muito própria, vem também a este nosso *Orbe* o nome de *Novo*; e por tratar dos Frades Menores, ha de ser *Serafico*, como aquelle outro; e por ser da província do Brasil, se deve denominar ou distinguir com o adittamento de *Brasilico*. E com todas estas razoens, bem se conforma com esta Obra o titulo que lhe damos, e que não poderá haver sobre elle parecer algum encontrado, que não degenére para huma critica impertinente, e mais mordaz do que judiciosa".

12 It is precisely the case with the "Digressão III" which discusses in detail, over five "Estâncias", the adventures of the famous Caramúru. Jaboatão legitimates this option by arguing that he found a manuscript in the convent of Bahia, according to him contemporary to the narrated facts, and uses it as a source: "Dá noticia de Diogo Alvares Correia. Caramuru, como passou do Reyno ao Brasil, seu naufragio na entrada da Bahia, e circunstancias admiráveis delle; como passou a França e tornou á Bahia, com outros mais particulares acontecimentos, dignos de memoria, em que, como principal, entra o da miraculosa imagem de nossa Senhora da Graça" ["It gives news of Diogo Alvares Correia, Caramuru, as passed from the Kingdom to Brazil, his wreckin the Bahia entrance, and its admirable circumstances; as he came to France and returned to Bahia, with more particular events, worthy of memory, where, as principal,enters the miraculous image of Our Lady of Grace."] (Jaboatão, 1858: 35).

13 Jaboatão, 1858: 36: "Outra razaõ, e muy forçosa, nos move a intrometermos nesta escrita os feitos deste Herôe, e he, conforme a ordem, que levamos, descrever as Capitanias do Brasil, por onde andarão antes, e fundarão depois Conventos os nossos Religiosos, quando se descobrirañ ellas, e quaes foraõ os seus primeiros Povoadores, e os que as fundaraõ; e como esta gloria se deve na da Bahia a Diogo Alvares Correa, antes que fallemos em os primeiros Religiosos nossos, que vieraõ ter, por disposição do Ceo, a ella, he preciso digamos também quem foy, por acaso da fortuna, o seu primeiro Descobridor." ["Another reason it is very forcible, moves us to put in this writing the deeds of this hero, and it, according to the order we carry, describe the captaincies of Brazil, where they were before, and later our religious founded convents, when they found them, and what were their first settlers, and those who founded them; and how this glory is due at Bahia to Diogo Alvares Correa, before we talk about our first Religious, who came to it, by disposition of Heaven, it is necessary to say also who was, by accident of fortune, his first discoverer"].

14 "For peace, which in this Province filed this Prelate, there is no doubt contributed much grace achieved by the Apostolic See that they were its Visitors and Presidents of Chapters their same children, that they are those of other commonly born on this, or if they set more disputes, which was of up to the present, as those of ordinary are usually raised in those Republics, moving by heads, that don't belong to the body; because when these with the Domestic and natural break apart sometimes, and suffer so much, how they can unite, compose, and heal at all with the strange and false." (Jaboatão,1858: 326)

15 Jaboatão, 1858: 201: "Com todos estes Conventos se compôs, e formalizou a Provincia de Santo Antonio do Brasil desde o seu principio de Custodia, indo-se seguindo huns aos outros, conforme a ordem, e carreira dos tempos; estas foraõ as partes, que formaraõ o seu corpo, ficando-lhe cóllo, e cabeça a Casa de Olinda, e todos juntos huma formosa, e levantada torre, com tantos Escudos de fortaleza, e honra, quantos Filhos de espirito, de virtude, e santidade, de sciencia, e letras, de cargos e dignidades tem gerado, e produzido de si." ["With all these convents was composed and formalized the Province of Santo Antonio in Brazil since its beginning as Custody, following each other, according to the order, and career of the times; these were the parties that formed its body, with her lap and head in Olinda House, and put together a fair and raised tower with many fortress and honor shells, how many Children in spirit, virtue, and holiness, science, and letters, positions and dignities has generated and produced."]

16 Jaboatão, 1858: 211: "Ainda que a julgamos mais conforme pela expressão de algumas particularidades com que a escreve, que o não faria sem aquellas circunstancias, que pedia a sua obrigação, deixando sempre a melhor indagação desta verdade para o Padre Chronista da sua Provincia, a quem, como a causa própria e tanto de casa, lhe compete saber melhor o que nella passa: *Foy* (diz a referida memoria) *o P. Fr. Melchior de Santa Catharina, natural da nobilíssima Villa de Ponte de Lima, seus Progenitores foraõ os Chefes da Casa de Britiandos, Casa taõ nobremente fidalga, que se prezaõ de descender della os mayores Titulos, e nobreza de Portugal.* Esta, diz, foy a Patria illustre, este o nobre solar do Venerando P. Fr. Melchior de Santa Catharina." ["Although we judge it more according by the expression of some characteristics with the writing, that would not do without those circumstances, which called its obligation, always leaving the seeking of this truth to Father chronicler of the Province, to whom, as the own cause, he's the best to know what's in it: *Fr. Melchior Santa Catharina* (says that memory) *was born in the most noble village of Ponte de Lima, his Parents were the heads of Britiandos House, House so noble, that the largest Titles and nobility of Portugal descend from it. This, he says, was the illustrious homeland, this was the noble house of Venerable Fr. P. Melchior Santa Catharina*".].

17 Jaboatão, 1858: 229: "Tambem o provava empregando-o nas occupaçoens mais vis, e humildes da Communidade; mas nisto mesmo, que lhe offerecia por mortificaçaõ, e desprezo, achava o Noviço o mayor allivio, e consolo: e vindo o Mestre neste conhecimento, tratou de o mortificar por outro estylo. Em muitos dias o naõ occupava em cousa alguma, como naõ fazendo caso do seu préstimo, e dando-lhe a entender que era para a Religiaõ de pouca serventia". ["Heal so proved it, employing it in the vilest and more humble occupations of the Community; but even in this, that he offered by mortification and contempt, the Novice found his largest relief and consolation: and the Master, knowing this,tried to mortify him in another style. On many days he doesn't occupy him in anything, ignoring his services, and giving him to understand that he was for the religion of little use".].

18 Jaboatão, 1858: 244-245: "Ainda lhe restava o peito por armar; porque os cilicios, e coletes naõ podiaõ chegar a elle, e naõ achava na Armeira da Mystica arnêz determinado para a sua defeza; mas o seu espirito, como artifice engenhoso de novas maquinas, para subjugar a rebeldia do corpo, e resistir ás suas

desordenadas paixoens, descobrio, e forjou hum, tanto mais admiravel, como nunca praticado. Mandou fazer huma Cruz de páo de hum palmo de comprido, e tres dedos de largo, e nella fez cravar trinta pontas de agudo, e penetrante ferro, e este instrumento assim lançava ao pescoço, humas vezes sobre as costas, outras para a parte de diante, mas sempre immediato, e unido á raiz da carne, como tomando a peito naõ ter hora, nem instante, em que naõ ajudasse ao seu Redemptor a levar sobre os hombros o pezado jugo da sua CRUZ, figurando nas trinta pontas desta, os tres Cravos do Senhor: naõ porque quisesse na demazia do numero exceder o mysterio da figura; mas porque achava que, por cada hum dos Cravos do Senhor, merecia elle reduplicar em infinidades de vezes, pelo numero de dez, o seu sentimento". ["He still had his chest for arming; because the cilices and jackets could not be enough to him, and he didn't find in mystical "weapons" a particular harness for his defense; but his spirit,as ingenious artifice of new machines,tosubdue the body's rebellion and to resist to his disordered passions, discovered and forge done,all the more admirable as never practiced. He ordered to make a wooden cross of a long span and three fingers wide, and in it he made insert thirty tips of sharp and penetrating iron, and this instrument was thus throwing the neck, sometimes on the back, others for the front part, but always immediate and attached to the root of flesh, such as taking seriously does not have time or instant in that he did not help to their Redeemer to carry on his shoulders the yoke of his heavy CROSS, figuring in thirty ends of this the three nails of the Lord, not because he wanted with so heavy number exceed the mystery of the figure; but because he thought that, for every one of the nails of the Lord, he deserved redoubling infinity of times his sense, by the number of ten"].

19 Jaboatão, 1858: 291: "e supposto que todos estes, com pouca differença, fallavaõ a mesma lingua que era a geral de toda esta Costa, com tal diligencia, e facilidade a aprendeo, e soube com tanta elegancia, e ém taõ pouco tempo… que affirmavaõ todos parecia cousa sobrenatural e que só por milagre podia ser, e parecia dom do Altíssimo communicado a este seu Evangelico Ministro, porque até os mesmos Gentios naõ deixavaõ de reparar na perfeiçaõ, e propriedade, com que o servo de Deos lhes falava". ["and alleged that all of these with little difference, spoke the same language that was the generalin this entire coast with such diligence, and easily learned it and knew with such elegance, and in a short time…that all said it seemed a supernatural thing and that only a miracle could be, and seemed a gift from the Almighty, communicated to his Evangelic Minister, because even those Gentiles did not fail to notice the perfection and property the God's servant spoke to them"].

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